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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 9, 1 May 1984



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CHINA REPORT  
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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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## COMMUNISTS SHOULD DO CREDIT TO THE PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 84 pp 2-5

[Article by Zhang Tingfa [1728 1694 4099]]

[Text] Comrade Zhou Chao, former deputy head of the PLA Air Force Jinan Hospital, preserved and carried forward the fine tradition of the party after retirement. He served the people wholeheartedly irrespective of hardships, fame, and reward. On the five occasions when he returned to his hometown, he actively publicized the party's line, principles, and policies, enthusiastically healed the masses, and did a lot of good deeds for them. His exemplary deeds have caused strong repercussions among the vast numbers of party members, cadres, and masses. They commended him as a model for veteran cadres and an outstanding party member who persevered in serving the people in the "new stage of the revolution." He used his practical action to add glory to the great image of our party.

As we all know, the words and deeds of party members are closely connected with the party's prestige. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The masses often judge our party from the deeds of our members. Therefore, our members should, in every single move and under all circumstances, give a good impression to the nonparty masses so that they can have faith in and further respect our party." ("Selected Works of Chen Yun," p 76) During the revolutionary war years and under the extremely difficult circumstances of great disparity in strength between the enemy and ourselves, why was it that our party had the power of appealing and could unite the broad masses around itself to fight for the liberation cause of the people? It was because the party's line and policies represented the interests and aspirations of the masses. The broad ranks of party members advanced wave upon wave, fought heroically, and worked wholeheartedly for the interests of the people, thus enjoying the love and esteem of the people and enabling the party to enjoy high prestige among the masses. During the period of difficulty from 1959 to 1961, we had to reduce the investment in state capital construction from 30 billion yuan to 5 billion yuan. We also transferred 20 million staff members and workers to lower levels and closed down a number of enterprises. One of the important reasons why the national economy could smoothly adjust at that time was that our party maintained close ties with the masses, the party members played an exemplary role, and the party members and cadres shared the sufferings with the masses, thus

enabling the party to enjoy high prestige. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Nothing could be done if the party and government did not have high prestige." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 189) Facts have proved that the prestige of a proletarian political party is not established on its power, but on the trust and support from the bottom of the people's hearts. Without the practical action of the broad ranks of party members in working for the interests of the people, it would be impossible for the people to sincerely and wholeheartedly support the party.

The building of the four modernizations carried out at present and the efforts made to realize the general tasks and objective put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress must be led by a party which enjoys high prestige among the people of the whole country. Without the efforts made by a party, which maintains flesh-and-blood ties with the people and enjoys high prestige, in working together with the masses, it would be impossible to attain the victories of the four modernizations in China. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, great efforts have been made from the CPC Central Committee to the broad ranks of party members to strengthen and improve party leadership, to transform the party's work style, and to heighten the party's prestige. Our current CPC Central Committee is a united and harmonious leading collective and a firm core of leadership which can control the complicated situation. The line, principles, and policies of the party are entirely correct and have enjoyed support of the masses. The main ranks of party members are pure and have mighty fighting capacity, the majority of party members have set fine examples and made efforts to promote the fundamental turn for the better in party style, and the party's prestige is being resumed and heightened with each passing day. However, we must also be aware that some party members and cadres have forgotten the purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people. They have not properly wielded the power entrusted to them by the party and people to seek happiness for the people, but have tried by every means to seek personal gains. Some party members and cadres are seriously bureaucratic and their revolutionary will is waning. They are irresponsible in work and are not concerned about the weal and woe of the people. The above practices gravely harm the party's cause and also directly impair the party's image and affect the party's reputation among the masses. Only by seriously solving these problems and giving full play to the exemplary role of party members can we constantly enhance the party's prestige and strengthen the party's fighting capacity.

Comrade Zhou Chao could do credit to the party because he kept the party's purpose firmly in mind, put the interests of the party and people above everything else, and made persistent efforts in serving the people. As a veteran soldier and party member who joined the army in 1938 and the party in 1942, he fought hard for the people's liberation cause during the war years. In the 27 years he held the post of deputy head of the PLA Air Force Jinan Hospital, he made new contributions to army building and the people's medical cause. After retirement, he kept on doing good deeds for the masses with the revolutionary spirit of party members "have remaining years, but no idle years." The titles, posts, and environment of a party member may change, but there is one thing that should remain for all his life, that is, serve the people wholeheartedly. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "It is not

hard for one to do a bit of good. What is hard is to do good all one's life." The fact that Comrade Zhou Chao could persist in doing good deeds for the people for over a long time is exceptionally commendable.

The line and program of our party represent the fundamental interests of the broad masses. Therefore, in order to serve the people heart and soul, we must work unwaveringly to implement the party's line and program and must resolutely fight against all statements and actions which encroach upon the interests of the party. Comrade Zhou Chao regarded himself as "corpuscle" in the party's body. He decided to serve as red cells to infuse nourishment into the party's body and to serve as white cells to courageously fight against "poisonous bacterium" and to protect the party's health. After his retirement, he actively publicized the line, principles, and policies of the party formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which embodied the firm party spirit of a party member in conscientiously keeping in ideological and political unity with the CPC Central Committee. In 1980, his native Gaochun County and the localities near the boundary of Anhui Province started carrying out the responsibility system in agricultural production. In order to help the cadres and masses relieve their worries and promote the implementation of the responsibility system in agricultural production, Comrade Zhou Chao enthusiastically publicized the party's rural policies while curing the peasants and used the party's instructions to back and encourage the people of his hometown to follow the road to prosperity. He also conducted social investigations on his own initiative and drew the following conclusion from a large amount of facts: The system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output accords with the aspirations of the masses and is suited to the development of the rural productive forces. He immediately wrote a letter to the CPC Central Committee reporting the situation and expressing his attitude. He said: "Veteran party members should take the lead in keeping in unity with the CPC Central Committee. They should put this in practice and not merely in words." He criticized, persuaded, and reported to higher levels the rumors and slanders which ran counter to the four cardinal principles and the line, principles, and policies of the party, thus manifesting the strong sense of principle of a party member. As a retired old comrade, Zhou Chao is no longer holding leading posts. Nevertheless, he had a high sense of consciousness in implementing the party's line, principles, and policies. Such spirit deserves recommendation. Some of our comrades who are holding leading posts are not so enthusiastic and conscientious in implementing the party's line, principles, and policies, but doubt, waver, or even find excuses to resist them. This is not only a shame to the glorious title of party member, but is also impermissible in party discipline. All our party members should resolutely implement the instructions of the CPC Central Committee in words as well as deeds and never engage in double-dealing. They should be models in firmly implementing the party's line, principles, and policies and should have the courage to fight against all erroneous ideas and practices.

It is no easy job to serve the people as it is sometimes necessary to sacrifice one's personal interests. Comrade Zhou Chao precisely had such self-sacrificial spirit. While practicing medicine voluntarily, he did not assume any leading posts, did not trouble the local governments, and did not accept

any reward. He often subsidized the patients who were in financial difficulties. He refused to accept any gifts from the masses. If the masses insisted in sending him gifts, he would not accept them without payment. He set strict demands on himself and his dependents. He slept on a wooden bed with grass mattress and led a plain life. The television he used was a 9-inch black and white type he bought 9 years ago and he had on deposit only 200 yuan in the only passbook in his home. However, for the sake of curing the masses, he spent more than 900 yuan for purchasing medical equipment and medicine. In 1983, when his hometown suffered from the biggest flood of the century and the people's life and property were seriously menaced, he took part in the struggle to prevent and combat the flood in spite of his sickness and personal safety. It would be impossible to fight for the communist cause without the sacrificial spirit of the party members and other advanced elements. Although we do not propose meaningless sacrifices, we advocate the necessary sacrifices. Without the voluntary sacrifices made by thousands upon thousands of party members, whether in the period of revolutionary wars or in the period of peaceful construction, it would be impossible to attain the victory of our cause and would be difficult for the party to enjoy a lofty reputation among the people. After our party became a party in power, if the self-sacrificial spirit had not been advocated among party members and no one had been willing to make any sacrifices when their personal interests contradicted the interests of the party, then, in addition to forfeiting its fighting capacity, the party would have degenerated. Those who cannot withstand the test on the problem of self-sacrifice are not entitled to be called party members.

Comrade Zhou Chao realized from practice that one cannot serve the people with enthusiasm only. He must also study hard and master the skills for serving the people. Comrade Zhou Chao said: "There is no end to serving the people and also to learning." As a veteran medical worker, he had rich clinical experience and profound medical skill. However, in order to cure the common and frequently occurring diseases in rural areas, he kept on assiduously studying medicine. He was formerly a surgeon, but after retirement, he went on studying dentistry and gynecology at his own expense and time and again he acknowledged folk doctors as his teachers. He also collected more than 130 folk prescriptions and secret and proved recipes for curing various diseases and collected and arranged more than 500 herbal specimens. It was because he took note of studying the art of healing and mastered the skills for curing the sick and injured, he operated on 88 patients and saved the lives of more than 30 sick people. He enabled many patients who were disabled or partly disabled to recover their health and resume production and work in their posts, thus he was highly praised by the masses. We must learn from Comrade Zhou Chao's spirit and turn the idea of serving the people into a thirst for knowledge and into action of assiduously studying scientific, technological, and professional knowledge. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It would be impossible to realize the four modernizations with only the adherence to the socialist road and without real ability and learning." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 226) This shows how pressing and important it is to study scientific and professional knowledge for the building of the four modernizations. On the eve of the founding of the PRC and in light of the confronting grave task of economic construction,

the party put forward the slogan of restudying and called on the whole party to learn to do economic work and learn the things they did not know in the past. In the new historical period today, our party shoulders the historical task of building the four modernizations. In the upsurge of the new technological revolution, new technologies are developing with each passing day and we are confronted with the strategic task of upgrading our knowledge. For this reason, the CPC Central Committee again put forward the slogan of restudying and called on party members at all fronts to study hard, to master the skills for building the four modernizations, and to become both Red and expert, skilled workers of their own jobs, and the vanguard for realizing the four modernizations. Under the prerequisite of deepening the ideological awareness and adhering to the correct political orientation, he who masters more knowledge and better skills for serving the people will be able to make more and greater contributions and do credit to the party. If we fail to assiduously study scientific and professional knowledge and become laymen in our work for over a long time, we will not be able to make contributions to the four modernizations and the slogan serving the people will be empty talk.

Comrade Zhou Chao was utterly loyal to the party. He regarded the party's image, reputation, and prestige as more valuable than his life. He said: "Every single word and deed of our veteran comrades is related to the party's reputation. The party has nurtured us so we must ardently love our party and spare no effort to do credit to the party." He also pointed out: "In one's remaining years, there is no greater happiness than that of continuing to serve the people and there is no greater joy than that of doing credit to the party." While practicing medicine in his hometown and making rounds of visits in the disaster area, he always wore his army uniform, giving people the impression that he was a veteran fighter of the PLA. He conveyed, through his own action, the party's profound concern to the masses, thus enabling the masses to ardently love and trust our party. Comrade Zhou Chao made unremitting efforts to safeguard the party's great image. These are the lofty feelings of a veteran party member.

As we are now carrying out all-round party rectification, we should set Zhou Chao and other models as our examples, conscientiously compare and examine ourselves, heighten our awareness, strengthen our party spirit, serve the people in a better manner, train ourselves into qualified party members, and strive to become outstanding party members. The greater number of such party members we have, the higher prestige our party will enjoy. Consequently, our party will be able to appear among the billion people in a greater image and we will certainly be able to successfully realize the great cause of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004/76

SUCCESSFUL LAUNCHING OF SYNCHRONOUS SATELLITE BY OUR COUNTRY--TO THE TUNE OF  
POZHENZI

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 84 p 5

[Poem by Zhang Aiping [1728 1947 5493]]

[Text] Camps are deployed stretching at a distance of ten thousand li,  
And orange-red flames shoot right up into the skies.  
Needless to ask how many times the satellite will orbit the universe,  
Against the wind it is making a tour of the vault of heaven.  
Up in orbit it operates with grace and ease.

A brilliant light is hanging high in the skies,  
And a flying rainbow is piercing through a mizzle of golden threads.  
Yudi, the Heavenly Emperor bends forward as the fairies dance,  
While on the world of man twilight glows.  
The Chinese nation is bathed in the warm spring breeze.

CSO: 4004/77

## BOOST PARTY SPIRIT, OVERCOME FACTIONALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 84 pp 6-14

[Article by Zhang Yun [1728 5686]]

[Text] Editor's note: This article by Comrade Zhang Yun makes a concrete analysis of factionalism and puts forth relatively profound views. It is good teaching material in the current party rectification effort. Now some of us write articles without studying relevant problems and tend to borrow others' ideas or to talk nonsense. This is not a very good style. This article is also rather helpful, as far as the rectification of literary style is concerned.

Such a thing as factionalism produced a very harmful effect on the party's cause during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Now it is still having a disruptive effect and spreading its evil influence. It is also a big obstacle to the current party rectification effort. The problem of fighting factionalism was clearly put forth in the third item of party rectification work in the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification." The "Decision" says: "It must be especially pointed out that factionalism affecting a number of party members and party cadres in the 10 years of internal disorder has still not been overcome. These people still replace party spirit with factionalism, draw lines of division where factions are concerned, appoint people who are their own relatives, get rid of those who disagree with them, and gang up to serve private ends. This has seriously threatened party unity and interfered with the implementation of the party's line and general and specific policies." This major problem has been raised in the CPC Central Committee's "Decision" on party rectification with a view to seeking a solution. No party rectification unit can neglect or avoid this problem. All the demands put forth in the CPC Central Committee's "Decision" on party rectification, including the effort to fight factionalism, must be carried out, one by one. In doing so, we cannot carry things too far. Still less can we drop a single one of them. In the current party rectification effort of great historical significance and realistic significance--an exercise that calls for "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones"--if we do not overcome factionalism generated in the 10 years of internal disorder, that will be a great mistake.

## I. The Formation and Development of Factionalism in the 10 Years of Internal Disorder

In the 10 years of internal disorder, the party committee was kicked out to kick up a so-called revolution causing extremely serious disruption to our country in the political, economic, cultural, and ideological fields. Party spirit also suffered an extremely serious blow. With the development of the "Great Cultural Revolution," many party members imbued with party spirit became objects of struggle, or were left out in the cold. Some party members' party spirit was weakened, step by step. Some were totally drained of such spirit. Inside the party, party spirit gave way to rising and growing individualism, anarchism, and liberalism basically incompatible with party spirit.

At the start of the "Great Cultural Revolution," given such confusing "leftist" ideas and slogans as "revolution is not a crime, rebellion is justified," "a mass movement is naturally justified," and so forth, the world was turned upside down. "Groups of heroes" competed for attention. Fish eyes were passed off as pearls, as imitations abounded. Numerous so-called mass rebellion organizations flaunting various revolutionary titles, such as the fighting teams, the rebellion groups, and the like, mushroomed or surfaced. Raising the revolutionary banner of "protecting Chairman Mao and protecting the party Central Committee," they "kicked out the party committee to kick up a revolution," indulging in so-called rebellion against "capitalist-roaders." Despite some divisions and disputes between various mass rebellion organizations and within themselves at that time for the sake of so-called "revolution" or "protection," generally speaking, no conspicuous faction or factionalism could be seen. What should be particularly pointed out is that at the early stage of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the ordinary masses inside and outside the party that rose in rebellion were not motivated by any bad motive. The great majority of them sincerely treated the "leftist" passion as "revolutionary action." They therefore willingly joined the rebellion organizations. At that time, it was not a matter of factionalism being acquired immediately after joining a faction. Only some time before or after the criticism of "the bourgeois reactionary line" and especially after the outbreak of the so-called "January storm" in 1967, did the whole situation begin to change rapidly in the mass melee to seize power and to make criticisms and denunciations. Amid the then cries for "seizing power," rebellion organizations of the party, government, public affairs and educational departments at the central or local level, and of various units, factories, and rural communes and brigades throughout the country all wanted to seize leadership in relevant units. Given a difference between so-called "viewpoints" and actual interests, there successively formed two diametrically opposed large factions scrambling for power. Factionalism was thus generated. Factional conflicts broke out everywhere and became increasingly fierce. Thereafter, any two factions in a given unit just play-acted falsely advertising "revolution," but were actually committed to seizing power, as far as general and fundamental guiding ideas were concerned. They stopped at nothing to overthrow or "swallow up" the opposing faction, obsessed with the desire to call the shots, to control a given sphere of influence and to grab hold of party and administrative leadership dictating everything in regard to

personnel, financial, supplies control, and cultural matters. Given such a situation, all such terms as "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought" and "revolution" were nothing but deceptive slogans. Their one aim, to be blunt, was to place factional interests above everything else and take factional gain as the center of all activities. Such characteristics as "taking self as the center," ganging up to serve private ends, defending those who belong to the same faction, and attacking those who do not, and aiming for nothing but power, nothing but profit, nothing but fame, and nothing but factional objectives, make up the core of factionalism.

From the 10-year period of internal disorder to date, factionalism has followed a process of development. Factional fighting, after it started, produced a very harmful influence. For a period, factional fighting affected all parts of the country giving rise to great chaos. At first, fighting was in verbal and written forms involving mutual attacks. It then developed into armed fighting involving real guns and bullets. Later, a "support-the-left" campaign was carried out. This was necessary, given the then chaotic situation. It played a positive role in stabilizing the situation but also brought some negative consequences. In practice, "support for the left" actually meant support for a faction. After those "supporting the left" entered a certain unit, two factions immediately tried to win their support demanding that they support so-called "revolutionaries" in a clear-cut manner. In the two factions' struggle to "win their support," they also always supported one faction and suppressed another. As a result, they were completely trapped in the bewildering factional net, without being able to extricate themselves. Thus, it followed that the faction given support came to power and the one suppressed was trampled down. The faction in power became the victor in factional fighting and the one out of power the vanquished. The faction in power stopped at nothing to suppress the defeated one. The defeated faction also refused to yield putting up a life-or-death struggle in an attempt to stage a comeback and to overthrow the faction in power again. The struggle between two factions for and against a turnaround centering on the seizure of power was very fierce. This shows that "support for the left" actually could only have a catalytic effect on factionalism. Not long after, Comrade Mao Zedong called for a mass integration of the two factions. Thereafter, factional fighting tended to slightly let up. Under unavoidable circumstances, two factions in various party, government, public affairs, and educational departments and various units, factories, and rural areas became integrated organizationally. So-called mass integrated organizations were established. At that time, despite organizational integration, factionalism with one faction trying to dominate the scene did not thus abate. Between two factions, open clashes and veiled struggles continued. They had united, but with different objects in mind. Imbedded deep in their minds was a desire to swallow up each other. Under the garb of "mass integration," factionalism continued to exist and to develop. After the downfall of the "gang of four" and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has carried out a series of measures to turn chaos into order, clarifying many problems of right and wrong concerning thinking, theory, the line and general and specific policies--problems that were turned upside down during the "Great Cultural Revolution." A lot of ideological and educational work has also

been done in overcoming the problem of factionalism. Communist Party members have been once and again called upon and urged to resolutely fight factionalism and boost party spirit. Given the march of historical changes and a series of ideological and political work programs, factional organizations have up to now been thoroughly disintegrated and eliminated. Factionalism among most of the comrades involved in this or that faction has no longer existed or greatly weakened. More and more people inside and outside the party have soberly realized that factionalism is very harmful to the party, to the people and to the cause of socialist construction. They therefore show great disgust at factionalism. Many comrades once involved in factional fighting and victimized have shown all the greater hatred for factionalism and are seized with great regret at the mention of it. But just as pointed out in the party rectification "Decision," "factionalism generated in the 10 years of internal disorder has still not been overcome among a number of party members and party cadres." Many facts show that factionalism up to now is indeed still possessing some party member comrades' minds like a ghost. Factionalism has not passed out of the picture and still less, been rooted out. On the contrary, its "soul" is still around. Once given the congenial "political climate," or a chance, it will "come back in a borrowed body" making trouble. What calls for particular attention is that some people inside and outside the party, who had previous ties with factions, still treat factionalism as a kind of "fermented bean curd." They always feel that such bean curd smells but it tastes good. In the deep recesses of their hearts, they are still deeply attached to factionalism, the strands of their battered romance with it are unbroken. They find it hard to part with it. Of course, factionalism as it now is, is a far cry from the "golden period" of factionalism during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Now it is only in a residual form, but its harm still cannot be underrated.

## II. The Manifestations of Factionalism and Its Harm

Factionalism is not something intangible that can be neither seen nor touched. It finds expression in concrete acts. The manifestations of factionalism have now greatly changed compared with the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution." It also is not entirely the same, as far as the degree of its harm is concerned. The manifestations and features of factionalism during the "Great Cultural Revolution" are as follows:

1. Flaunting the banner of "revolution" and hanging out the signboard of "revolution." During the "Great Cultural Revolution," any faction flaunted the banner of "revolution" styling itself as the sole advocate of revolution, the sole leftist representative and the sole champion of correct principles. Given this feature, any faction consciously or unconsciously picked up the so-called "revolutionary" slogans that sought to strike awe in people and to appeal to the public with their sensational contents--slogans put forth by the two counterrevolutionary groups of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in a plot to usurp party and state power. These slogans were borrowed as a rallying call under its own banner to win over more members and expand its factional influence. Thus, this was playing into the very hands of the plot of the two counterrevolutionary groups, giving them

support and every convenience in their attempt to usurp party and state power. Therefore, the enemy took advantage of factionalism. Factionalism also provided a coverup for the enemy.

2. Defending those who belong to the same party and attacking those who do not. People drew a line of division where a faction was concerned, or where an individual was concerned. Those who obeyed were treated as confidants and those who disobeyed were kept at arm's length. Or, it happened that those who obeyed were allowed to thrive and those who disobeyed were made to languish. Anyone who worked for a given faction with all his heart was allowed to rise fast and made part of the backbone staff. Those people seriously affected with factionalism were quick to doubt, strike at, and expel from the relevant faction anyone in it who showed the least sign of hesitation, for fear that he might secretly work with an opposing faction. A person of this kind was dubbed "a renegade" and "a hidden traitor." Factionalism in these people was deep-seated enough to leave a person dumbfounded.

3. Involvement with factional fighting on a large scale. Factional fighting means a big factional outburst. It represents the main way or means to achieve the aim of seizing power. Any two factions in a given unit used the dragging out of "capitalist roaders" as an excuse to direct the spearhead upward and to sacrifice leading cadres as "live targets" in a factional struggle to seize power. To seize the revolutionary banner and prove themselves sole advocates of revolution, they vied to be the first to drag out any leading cadres, named or accused by the so-called "proletarian command headquarters," as a target of struggle. Those leading cadres not mentioned by name or accused were also either subjected to struggle by both factions or subjected to struggle by one faction while protected by another, or protected by one faction while subjected to struggle by another. No leading cadre made a target of struggle by one faction and protected by another, or made a target of struggle by both factions and not protected could escape the ordeal of struggle. The evil consequence was that leading cadres suffered from factional fighting started by both factions. Under these circumstances, leading cadres suffered the utmost in cruelties, ordeals and insults, personal freedom and life threatened and family members and relatives victimized. To seize power, both factions went on from fighting in verbal and written forms to armed fighting. Those who emerged triumphant felt on top of the world proudly professing themselves as heroes. Woe to those defeated, who were at the mercy of those in power receiving the fullest share of pounding and suppression. Those victors taking charge branded many comrades of the opposing faction as so-called "May 16" elements, active revolutionaries, and "monsters and demons," concocting a plethora of frameups or wrong accusations. Both factions were complete with "heads," "advisers," and the like devising ways and means and making plans. Backbone workers were charged with different assignments. They often met putting their heads together and working out so-called countermeasures to cope with the opposing faction. Their actions were organized and planned.

4. Enlisting support. Both factions as rivals tried their best to win the support of the then "revolutionary leading cadres" and army representatives.

Their ways and means called for doing everything possible to advertise themselves, to assert themselves, and to strike blows at and smear the opposing faction. Their main aim was to capitalize and depend on the effective support of the then "revolutionary leading cadres" and army representatives or exploit their authority to suppress and overthrow the opposing faction. The then "revolutionary leading cadres" and army representatives also selected targets of support according to their own preferences and viewpoints, supporting those who appealed to their taste and suppressing those who did not. Thus, they also got stuck with factionalism, becoming "captive" to factionalism. They resolutely put one faction in power joining it in the act of factional fighting, and resolutely trampled down another. In "supporting the left," some well-meaning comrades also did not want to go along with factionalism and did not like to support one faction while suppressing another. But cadres and army representatives of this kind were often subjected to such charges as "a low consciousness of the line," "mediators trying to smooth things over at the sacrifice of principle," "conservatives," and so forth. They could not manage to stay or hold their own in the "support-the-left" units. They were often subjected to exclusion and opposition from those factionalism-affected figures. They were thus forced to leave, calling it quits.

5. Concocting charges and falsifying so-called criminal evidence to make people targets of struggle. There were four main ways of falsifying so-called criminal evidence: 1) Grabbing hold of files. To ferret out leading cadres as targets of struggle, overthrow so-called "capitalist roaders," prove itself as an advocate of revolution and impress the then so-called "proletarian command headquarters" with its performance, any given faction tried in every way to look for "black data" and to cook up charges. To this end, both factions did everything possible to grab hold of relevant files with which to produce "bullets" and to hurt others. The one faction that had got hold of the relevant files looked for "revealing data" from such files ready on hand to "expose" prospective targets of struggle. The other faction that had failed to lay hold of the relevant files sent people over to seize same from the one that had them in its possession. For a period of time, cases of seizing files proliferated. Almost all of the units got involved with such incidents. 2) Obtaining confessions by compulsion and giving them credence. No unit, while still able to assert its factional authority, failed to seek confessions by compulsion and to give them credence. There were many ways of obtaining confessions, ranging from compulsion to inducement, imposition, and persuasion. Even kangaroo courts were set up with the targets of struggle subjected to long periods of interrogation. The worst was the use of torture to extort confessions. In cases of inquisition by torture, many were wounded, crippled, and even tortured to death. 3) Obtaining confessions by compulsion based on investigations conducted in other areas. Any faction sent large numbers of people to various other parts of the country to make so-called investigations concerning the objects of struggle. In such investigations, members of the faction often could not reconcile themselves to the unpalatable factual statements of those approached for information. The latter in some cases were forced to provide false data and evidence in written form to meet their subjective demands. There were also cases of comrades of honor being forced

to commit suicide because they doggedly refused to tell lies to victimize others. 4) Family property confiscated in a house search. Some factional organizations sought "incriminating evidence" not only in the office of a given unit and the archives but also in the home of the person subjected to struggle, where a search was made. Anyone's home searched was raided in a surprise move. Things were turned upside down. Documents, books, manuscripts, letters, photos, and all were taken away. Then the least thing suggestive therein, or something quoted out of context, or something purely invented, was seized upon as "criminal evidence" and as a basis for such accusations directed against the target of struggle as "a renegade," "a spy," "a capitalist roader," "a three-anti element," "an active counter-revolutionary," "an element with illicit relations with foreign countries," and so forth. Many comrades were thus framed.

Given above are the main manifestations of factionalism during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Then, what are the manifestations of today's factionalism?

1. In regard to thoughts and feelings, factional affection has taken the place of comradely affection, and "faction members'" relations have replaced comradely relations. Those people who belonged to the same faction before have remained deeply attached to each other, the strands of their battered romance with each other unbroken. They can pour out their hearts to each other and even run afoul of an organization's principles leaking to each other its resolutions, and nature of meetings, and other secret information and privately maintaining contacts. Those people who did not belong to the same faction before have found themselves not on the same wavelength and on guard against each other, persons close at hand and yet their hearts far apart. Some have worked together, but with different objects in mind, polite and friendly in appearance but prejudiced against each other deep down. Some have even brought their differences out into the open, saying nothing to each other at sight. This is the most widespread form of current factional manifestations.

2. In regard to work and the style, there is the tendency to keep up with a person and not with the party and to get involved with the study of matters of relations. Those people once belonging to the same faction band together fawning upon each other and capitalizing on each other's influence and acting in close cooperation, every meeting between them marked with a smiling face and everything done between them crowned with success. Those not once belonging to the same faction do not act in cooperation picking at each other, returning like for like, or publicly going along but secretly putting up resistance. The unhealthy party style and various problems appearing in work are attributable to factionalism as one of the causative factors. In individual areas or departments seriously affected by factionalism, new cadres sent there cannot work smoothly. This is because various factions proceed from their own interests not accepting or excluding anyone who does things in line with party spirit. Factionalism has found expression in work and style. This is relatively common.

3. In regard to organizational buildup and the cadres policy, a line of division is drawn where a person or a faction is concerned. Only those who are relatives are appointed and outsiders are excluded. Those leading cadres affected with factionalism do not treat all people under them on the same footing, drawing close to some and holding aloof from others. They are close to those who belong to the same faction or who once gave them protection and keep at arm's length those who do not belong to the same faction or who once subjected themselves to struggle. In both cases, they carried things to extremes, considering a person accepted by them as acceptable in every field and a person not accepted by them as unacceptable in every field. Ordinary cadres affected with factionalism cherish the idea of "a family of power and influence," taking a faction as a yardstick in measuring everything. They cover up fellow travelers' virtues and advertising their faults and even inventing something to tarnish their reputation. If the leading group is staffed by people of the same faction, there is no complaint. If an opponent is put on the staff of the leading group, there is an outburst. Why is it that one of the other group can make it and one of ours cannot? If it is a case of recruiting party members, people of factions would either put up their hands in support or raise objections, depending on the faction to which a chosen candidate belongs. Sometimes, a routine cadre promotion, which is clearly what it is, is also subjected to interpretation from a factional viewpoint. Judgment is based not on the relevant cadre's abilities and political integrity but on the faction to which he belongs. If the prospective candidate for promotion is not of a given faction, there is an outcry of "factionalism at work." This is a relatively serious form of factional manifestation. A more serious one is that certain people deeply affected with factionalism often have designs on a given area or unit as a factional sphere of influence. Actually, there now still exists the situation in which certain areas or units are under the control of a given faction. Leadership over these areas or units, including control over human rights, property, materials handling, and cultural matters, is all grasped in the hands of the faction. For former members of two factions, the yardstick for employment is based not on "modernization" requirements, abilities and equality but on factional ties and prejudices against outsiders. In certain units, despite their main leading groups having been reorganized several times and subjected to several changes of personnel, factional barriers have yet to be smashed given the factional control of some of their important departments. This is a major problem that must be seriously solved in the current party rectification effort.

4. In handling certain problems involving personal interests, such as wage readjustment, assessment of job titles, housing allotment, evaluation of the advanced, selection of representatives, and even certain matters of a trifling nature, the faction is always taken as the base, with a distinction between "you" and "me" in a bid for superiority. If things are below expectations, a number of people will be full of complaint, blaming the leadership and even making such accusations as "administering blows," "seeking revenge," and so forth. This is also a prominent form of expression of existing factionalism.

5. Now, there are many new variations on factionalism. For example, a person involved with factional organizations during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and not yet rid of poison that had deeply affected him, despite his having been transferred away from his original place of work, has taken to relying on factional influences to attain his private ends, because he had made "a habit of it" promoting factionalism during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Assigned to a new unit, he has again ganged up with those people of the same sort to usurp power. Also, when sent to work at lower levels or with some other departments on assignments, such as making investigations, handling cases, assessing cadres, taking care of given matters, and so forth, a person seriously affected with factionalism always, for factional considerations, sympathizes with and supports those people involved with factionalism and makes decisions according to personal preferences, without playing fair and square, or seeking truth from facts. On the surface, these activities denied the factional base of the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution" do not give the appearance of being factional. But in essence they still call for defending those who belong to the same party and attacking those who do not and ganging up to serve private ends. Therefore, these manifestations can be called variations on factionalism generated during the 10 years of internal disorder. The forms of expression of these variations are also not individual phenomena today.

From the above manifestations of factionalism, we can see that existing factional activities, as compared with those during the "Great Cultural Revolution," have the following several features: 1) In the past, factional activities were supported and encouraged by the two counterrevolutionary groups of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. Now, they meet with the resolute opposition of the party and the government. Therefore, factional activities, such as freely and openly using factional language, handling factional business, strengthening the factional position, asserting factional authority, and scrambling for factional power and factional gains, have turned into minor operations of a furtive nature, or matters of using authority as a coverup. 2) Such previous practices as flaunting a factional banner at any moment and conducting factional activities in an organized and planned manner have given way to a situation in which "there are no conspicuous mountain strongholds, but there are hidden reefs." In ordinary times, it is difficult to detect signs of factional organizations and banners. Only when personal interests of certain people are involved, do they consciously or unconsciously assert themselves. 3) There has been a switchover from involvement with factionalism as something glorious or something proudful to a matter of laying the blame on others and using attack as a means of defense. Where a person himself is obviously advocating factionalism, he falsely accuses those criticizing him of involvement with factionalism, covering up his own factional activities with a stand against factionalism. 4) There has been a switchover from previous practices, such as "putting someone on the pedestal as a master," relying on the backing of factional heads to issue commands and orders, and recruiting soldiers and buying horses for the sake of expanding spheres of influence, to a matter of worshipping certain leading cadres stained with factionalism as "protective gods" and seeking survival and improvement under their "protection." In sum, existing factional activities are covert, sporadic, and ingeniously disguised. Though not so naked and

boisterous as during the "Great Cultural Revolution" when factionalism was promoted with people coming out into the open and fighting it out, they are of a highly deceptive nature. Therefore, their harm similarly cannot be underrated.

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," factionalism brought sensational, harmful consequences. It divided and disintegrated party organizations and weakened party fighting power, some party organizations even were completely drained of their fighting power. It disrupted normal relations between party members, two diametrically opposed factions confronting each other like sworn enemies. Party discipline and the state law, and revolutionary traditions were all trampled down, and social order and the normal patterns of production, work and life were all turned upside down. Even party and state leaders could be illegally detained, imprisoned and interrogated. It was really a case of everyone being a law unto himself, outrages carried to excess. At that time, beating, smashing, and looting were all the rage, the souls of a whole generation of people corrupted. Factional fighting ran wild with uncounted numbers of people deprived of their lives or crippled in armed fighting. Those people promoting factionalism were themselves also victimized. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," they said and did the wrong things and owed the party and the people a debt. This not only hindered the development of their own talents to make contributions to the party and the state and retarded their own progress but also encumbered themselves with an ideological burden. It can be seen that factionalism has not only brought great harm to the party, to the state and to the people but also ended up hurting its very advocates.

As to today's factional harm, it can be found chiefly in the following three respects:

1. Factionalism weakens party spirit. Factionalism is the arch enemy of party spirit. As factionalism focuses on the interests of a small number of people as the center of its efforts serving the private ends of a small group or a small circle of people, it runs counter to the party spirit of the proletarian political party representing the interests of the masses of people. In the political life of the party and the state, party spirit plays a constructive role and factionalism a disruptive role. The two are basically incompatible with each other. If a unit reserves some room for factionalism, that naturally means a position lost for party spirit. Where factionalism is not excluded party spirit cannot thrive. Thus, the party organization will suffer from slack management, discipline will become lax, party members' thinking will be stained, and revolutionary will will be sapped.

2. Factionalism interferes with the implementation of the party's line and general and specific policies. It causes certain people to consider only the interests of a part and not the whole and to even think of only themselves and not of the party. When it comes to the implementation of the party's line and general and specific policies, they sit on the sidelines doing nothing. Or, they pretend compliance but secretly act otherwise advocating the principle that "each takes what he needs" and does as they please. Factionalism disrupts stability and unity and alienates comrades. It thwarts

coordination between upper and lower levels and cooperation with those close at hand and hinders the accomplishment of the party's various tasks in a concerted, active, and creative manner. With factionalism not overcome, the accomplishment of "one objective," "two civilizations," and "three assignments" will surely be affected.

3. Factionalism interferes with the investigation of "people of three categories" and the establishment of the "third echelon." During the "Great Cultural Revolution," the enemy capitalized on factionalism. Factionalism also served as a coverup for the enemy. Similarly, in today's party rectification efforts, "people of three categories" cashed in on factionalism. Factionalism also really acts as a coverup for "people of three categories." If some people shared membership of the same faction in the past with those subjected to investigation, they now refuse to provide relevant data to the organization concerned, or to testify against the former. When dealing with anything relating to the "Great Cultural Revolution" in the business of investigation, some people are keen on judging this and that faction and criticizing what is right or wrong, thus drawn into factional disputes without being able to extricate themselves. These practices turn out to be exactly what "people of three categories" desire. If you refuse to provide data, the organization concerned cannot get hold of relevant evidence. Thus, the person concerned can be at large. If you get involved with a tangle of unsettled accounts in history thus distracting everyone's attention, this person can find the very chance to slip away. The investigation of "people of three categories" is closely related to the establishment of the "third echelon." With "people of three categories" not weeded out, a potential threat to the party's cause will remain. If factionalism is further taken as a basis in appointing only those who are relatives and if "people of three categories" are trained as successors, then the consequences are inconceivable.

Summing up the above, we can see that factionalism existing within the party is a peculiar "mental disorder" that affected certain Communist Party members during the 10 years of internal disorder, as far as political thinking was concerned. It is a syndrome of individualism, sectarianism, anarchism, and liberalism. If not thoroughly cured, it will absolutely do no good to the party, to the socialist cause of construction and even to the victims themselves. Now, factionalism still exists in a residual form. Only an extremely small number of people are at work, secretly joining forces and ganging up to serve private ends. But their potential is not small. There is still a market for factionalism. Moreover, it will develop and spread outward once given the chance. Therefore, its harm can never be underrated.

### III. How To Overcome Factionalism

It should be definitely said that our party is capable of overcoming factionalism. This is because our party has determination and is guided by the correct line and general and specific policies. The quality of our contingent of party members is good. Healthy forces predominate in the party. The masses of our party members having suffered greatly from factionalism

have a strong desire and the drive to overcome factionalism, willing to be Chinese Communist Party members and unwilling to be "factional members." In the current party rectification campaign, we must sort out in an overall and systematic manner many problems existing with regard to ideology, style, discipline, organization, and various other aspects. This is a very good opportunity for weeding out factionalism. So long as we strengthen ideological education in the current party rectification effort and rid quite a large number of people of their blindness toward factionalism, with everyone consciously committed to resisting factional activities, there will be no market for factionalism.

To overcome factionalism, we should pay close attention to taking good care of the following several fields:

1. We must vigorously work on strengthening party spirit. This is a most fundamental way to overcome factionalism.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have been busy turning chaos into order where the political line, the ideological line, and the organizational line are concerned and busy carrying out socialist modernization centering on economic construction. We have not had enough time carrying out overall and systematic ideological education for party members. Party spirit among quite a large number of people within the party is quite weak. Especially the party members admitted to the party since the "Great Cultural Revolution" have mostly failed to know something about fundamental party theory and fundamental party knowledge. They have also very seldom undergone strict training in political life within the party. They do not know much about what it takes to be a qualified Communist Party member. They cannot distinguish between what is party spirit and what is factionalism. Some are even still blind to factionalism. Given less than strong party spirit or less than pure party spirit, it is difficult to overcome factionalism. Therefore, we must conduct education in fundamental party theory and fundamental party knowledge and carry out publicity aimed at strengthening party spirit and opposing factionalism. Thus, everyone can really understand what is party spirit, what is factionalism, and why the existence of factionalism in the party is not allowed. We must guide the members of the whole party, so that they can use party spirit as a basis in making comparisons in a joint effort to condemn factionalism, analyze its true nature, expose its harm, trace its ideological roots, and formulate measures to overcome it. We must start a self-education effort, thus unifying awareness, strengthening party spirit, and consciously resisting and overcoming factionalism.

To conduct such self-education, we must understand what is party spirit and what is factionalism.

What is party spirit, as far as our party is concerned? Party spirit should be the innate nature of the Communist Party and what strictly distinguishes it from any other political party. Concretely speaking, it incorporates the following six principles: 1) Taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the theoretical base of our party's guiding thought, upholding dialectical

materialism and historical materialism, and studying, analyzing and solving in a down-to-earth manner various contradictions appearing in the practice of the Chinese revolution. 2) Taking the great ideal of eliminating all systems of exploitation and realizing socialism and communism as an objective and fighting toward this end to the last, upholding collectivism and communism in every way at all times. 3) Selflessly and wholeheartedly serving the people. 4) Establishing strict discipline calling for adherence to the principle of democratic centralism based on a high degree of consciousness on the part of party members. 5) Keeping in close contact with the masses and upholding the mass line. 6) Conducting self-criticism in a solemn and not a perfunctory manner and openly admitting and correcting our own defects and mistakes. To put it simply, party spirit, as represented by our party, takes the greatest interests of the largest number of people as its core.

What is factionalism? Factionalism is the innate nature of a faction, factional interests being put above everything else. Striving for factional power and factional gains by every means is its aim. It is an inflated version of individualism, an antithesis of party spirit, a corrosive to party spirit, and the arch enemy of party spirit. If devoid of party spirit, a Communist Party member is without a soul. That means joining the party organizationally but not ideologically. It should be said that it is a shame to be such a party member in name but not in deed.

Factionalism inevitably comes with factional fighting. The struggle for power between two factions during the "Great Cultural Revolution" brought numerous disasters. Today there still remain many contradictions, disputes, and unsettled cases arising out of hostile acts. Some people who view problems with factional basis are keen on getting involved in disputes and unsettled cases between two factions bent on proving that we are right and you are wrong in sorting things out. In fact, factionalism is what factions have in common and not what a faction has and what another does not have. Factionalism should be resolutely resisted as the antithesis of party spirit. Disputes between two factions arising out of factionalism absolutely allow no distinction between right and wrong, or between one faction being right and another being wrong. The "Resolution on Certain Problems of the Party in History Since the Founding of the PRC" at the sixth plenary session is an utter negation of the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." With the "Great Cultural Revolution" utterly negated, how can there be the distinction between right and wrong, where factional fighting arising out of factionalism during the "Great Cultural Revolution" is concerned? Why should anything be said of oneself being "always correct"? Therefore, we cannot and should not again get involved with all factional disputes that happened during the "Great Cultural Revolution" or disputes carried over. Still less should we lay the blame on the opposing faction, or others. Instead, we should hate, resent, and utterly negate factionalism given the utter negation of the "Great Cultural Revolution." We must guide everyone in unifying thinking based on the "Resolution on Certain Problems of the Party in History Since the Founding of the PRC." The aim is to unite on the basis of the principle of party spirit in a joint effort to overcome factionalism.

2. We must continue to eliminate the remnants of "leftist" thinking.

Factionalism generated during the "Great Cultural Revolution" is closely related to "leftism." Factionalism is a product of the then "leftist" mistakes. What is "leftist" has in turn been promoted by relying on factionalism. The two use and act on each other. Now, "leftist" mistakes have been corrected, as far as the party's guiding thought is concerned. But remnants of "leftist" thinking remain in the party. They are having an effect on various fields and constitute an obstacle to the firm implementation of the party's various policies. Influenced by such remnants of "leftist" thinking, certain people have displayed conflicting sentiments for the current reform and the effort to create the new. They often use factionalism as a means to create disturbances and put up resistance. In the eyes of these people, factionalism is therefore not so hideous in its features. They are unwilling to lose this "ever obliging" companion. Factionalism also thus remains. Therefore, to overcome factionalism, we must seriously study and fully understand the party's line and general and specific policies defined since the 3d plenary session and seriously study and fully understand the "Resolution" of the 6th plenary session and the spirit of the documents of the 12th National CPC Congress, keeping up with the pace of the CPC Central Committee, and ridding our minds of the remnants of "leftist" thinking, thus leaving no room for factionalism.

3. The leadership must assume a correct attitude toward the matter of overcoming factionalism, take a firm stand, and raise a clear-cut banner.

Up to now, the leading personnel of certain areas and units have not adopted a proper enough attitude toward factionalism. Some leaders hold that factionalism has come near to extinction and cannot carry much weight. Therefore, they lose their vigilance against factionalism and especially factionalism in its residual form. They show indifference and look the other way. They even consider that it is not right to overcome factionalism. Some leaders are also too softhearted. They always think that after 10 years of internal disorder, no more trouble can be tolerated. They worry that openly raising the question of factionalism and subjecting it to criticism may again provoke factional fighting and bring about an uncontrollable situation. Therefore, they have cold feet, run away from contradictions, and refuse to face up to factionalism. Where factionalism is obviously interfering with work, they also do not dare to come out against it. To overcome factionalism, leading cadres must thus first have a correct understanding of the problem of factionalism. Based on investigation and studies, they must make a proper estimation of factionalism as it exists. They cannot overlook factionalism, refuse to check it and allow it to spread unchecked. Nor can they overestimate factional influence, and underestimate the party's strength, thus having cold feet and lacking the courage to stand up to factionalism and similarly failing to solve the problem of factionalism. On the one hand, they must take note of the harm of factionalism and refuse to underrate it. On the other, they must understand that we call for the conquest of factionalism because we oppose such factional thinking that runs counter to party spirit. This is an ideological struggle. It is not a matter of fighting any given faction. The only purpose is to help comrades affected with factionalism

have a clear idea of the ugly features of factionalism and split with factionalism consciously. Therefore, so long as we make things clear to the masses and again give them correct guidance, there will be no provocation of new factional fighting. The expected aim can thus be attained.

4. In concrete practice, we must insist on using party spirit to overcome factionalism and resolutely guard against the conquest of party spirit by factionalism.

Some comrades have realized that factionalism cannot be accepted. They are determined to overcome factionalism. But in overcoming factionalism, they adopt a way of balancing the interests of two factions and get involved with what is called "a bowl of water kept on an even level." They show a conciliatory spirit and try to take care of the interests of both factions in every case. Thus what on the surface seems to be a fair deal is actually only an exercise to reconcile contradictions without really trying to solve contradictions. Therefore, this way or starting point of handling problems is not separated from the word "faction." Trying to solve the problem of factionalism by taking care of factional interests can only mean tolerating and compromising with factionalism and being trapped in the vicious cycle of factionalism. The subjective wish of these comrades may be commendable. It is seeking stability and unity. But given their improper ways of doing things, objective results can be the opposite of subjective wishes. Even if there appears temporary "stability and unity" through this approach, such stability and unity are also deceptive. With factionalism not overcome, the factors responsible for instability and disunity always exist. The correct approach calls for using party spirit to overcome factionalism. Through doing ideological work in a conscientious and penetrating manner, we should enable comrades affected with factionalism to really understand that our party can allow in it only the existence of party spirit and not the existence of factionalism. If in every matter in every field we take party spirit as the yardstick, then there is naturally no room for the existence of factionalism.

It must be especially pointed out that in our approach to certain people who are relatively seriously affected with factional ideas and unamenable to reason, we must make criticisms and conduct education, telling them point-blank that if they insist on getting involved with factionalism and refusing to correct themselves, as things go on, there will be the risk of their becoming "people of three categories." Are people of one of the "three categories" not persons seriously affected with factional thinking? We must shout at them to wake up and mend their ways before it is too late. In party rectification, we must firmly act according to the No 7 circular of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification: "We must make a point of removing various obstructions and especially guard against factionalism-affected people victimizing people that cherish party spirit. Anything done by using factionalism to victimize or shield certain people, or by framing up and launching vengeful attacks on certain people is an act to wreck the party rectification effort and should be solemnly dealt with, after a proper investigation."

In conclusion, we must say a few things to those comrades who in the past clashed in factional fighting and nursed a grudge against each other. We hope that upholding party spirit they will forgive and forget and let bygones be bygones. In the current party rectification effort, they should speak their minds, exchange confidences and make more self-criticism respectively. They should seek unity, help each other, encourage each other and try to restore normal close relations and lofty class sentiments between comrades. As a veteran Communist Party member, I appeal to all comrades affected more or less seriously with factionalism to wake up and turn over a new leaf. Through self-education, they should sum up lessons that will benefit them throughout their lives, strengthen their party spirit, refrain from using factional language, from doing factional things, and from remaining factionally attached emotionally, and have nothing more to do with, or make a clean break with factionalism, striving to be really qualified party members and fine party members imbued with strong party spirit.

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A SCIENTIFIC EXPLANATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF THE LITERATURE DURING  
THE MAY 4 MOVEMENT--REREADING 'ON NEW DEMOCRACY'

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[Article by Xiang Yuan [0686 6678] and Liu Yangti [0491 2254 7555]]

[Text] With its completely new content and style, the literature of the May 4 Movement has created a new scope in our country's literature and is usually referred to as "new literature." However, what is new literature? What is its nature? There are divergent views in the literary and art circles and the academic circles. At the first national congress of writers and artists, Comrade Guo Moruo said: "We literary and art workers were unable to correctly or thoroughly understand this question for a considerably long period of time. There was no scientific explanation of this question until Chairman Mao Zedong's 'On New Democracy' was published."<sup>1</sup> At the commemoration meeting of the 65th anniversary of the May 4 Movement, we revised the scientific explanation of the revolutionary nature of the literature of the May 4 Movement presented by Comrade Mao Zedong, which is still of practical significance in our inheriting the revolutionary tradition of the literature of the May 4 Movement and developing socialist literature.

I

There have been different views on the nature of the literature of the May 4 Movement since the day it first emerged. Before the May 4 Movement, there were various proposals such as Chen Duxiu's "national literature," "realistic literature," and "social literature,"<sup>2</sup> Fu Sinian's "vernacular literature,"<sup>3</sup> Hu Shi's "literature in Mandarin, Mandarin in literature,"<sup>4</sup> and Zhou Zuoren's "humanist literature."<sup>5</sup> There were also new views after the May 4 Movement and the most influential view held by the majority was "the enlightenment movement of bourgeois literature." These views have long been inherited and argued about in the literary and art circles and the academic circles. The controversies in the literary and art circles and the academic circles in the twenties and thirties, from the pounce on the new literature movement by Jiayin and Xueheng school to the controversy of the "two slogans," although not aroused by the revolutionary nature of the literature of the May 4 Movement, were usually related to this problem. For example, in the influential controversy on "revolutionary literature," one party held that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was a literary movement of the

bourgeoisie and thus criticized the majority of the writers of the May 4 Movement as bourgeois writers. They criticized Hu Shi and Lu Xun and erroneously described Lu Xun as the "dregs of feudalism."

Such controversies continued to the end of the thirties and the cultural circles were still unable to propose a scientific and convincing explanation on the revolutionary nature of the May 4 Movement. Confusion and a divergence of views existed to a serious extent. These confusions and divergence of views were directly related to the correct appraisal of the historical position of the writers and the social significance of their works, and were related to the direction of the development of the new literary movement. Therefore, after the dismissal of the "Leftist League," it was extremely essential to give a scientific explanation of the revolutionary nature of the literature of the May 4 Movement. It was under such circumstances that Comrade Mao Zedong published his "On New Democracy." "On New Democracy" was published with a view to enhance understanding of the entire Chinese revolution. The revolution of literature was part of the Chinese revolution. When understanding of the Chinese revolution was clarified, understanding of the revolution of the May 4 Movement literature would readily be enhanced.

"On New Democracy" pointed out that the October Revolution had changed the entire course of world history. From then on, throughout the world, to follow the path of the Russians was no more a choice of action but was the only way for colonial and semicolonial countries to develop revolution. Therefore, the Chinese revolution which was marked by the May 4 Movement in its beginning was "part of the world revolution" of the proletariat as far as politics, economics, or culture was concerned. At the same time, Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out that China was a semifeudal and semicolonial country, and that the revolution of 1911 failed to fulfill its anti-imperialist and antifeudal mission; therefore, the present Chinese proletarian revolution was not yet socialist revolution but was democratic revolution, a revolution led by the proletariat--a new democratic revolution. The cultural nature of this new democratic revolution was: "the people's culture of anti-imperialism and antifeudalism led by the proletariat"; and its characteristic was: "the national and scientific culture of the masses." The general characteristics of the literature of the May 4 Movement and the main trend of the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement were its anti-imperialist and antifeudal nature, advocacy of science, striving for nationalization and popularization, and integration of the masses. These decided that the literature of the May 4 Movement was literature of new democracy led by the proletariat, and that the revolution of the May 4 Movement literature was a component of the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat, and that its force (including the writers, artists, critics, and thinkers) was part of the literary force of the proletariat. Lu Xun was the representative of the culture of China's new democracy and "Lu Xun's direction was the new direction of the new culture of the Chinese people."

Comrade Mao Zedong's "On New Democracy" was a commonly recognized, important work on the theory of the new democratic revolution. Its historical position and historical role were completely confirmed in the "Resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. There can be no doubts

about this. We should clearly understand that "On New Democracy" has made a very clear scientific explanation and set regulations on the revolutionary nature of the May 4 Movement literature. Thus, "On New Democracy" has corrected various confused understandings of the revolutionary nature of the literature of the May 4 Movement. It not only has corrected Hu Shi's and Fu Sinian's propositions on improvement to style, and corrected the emptiness and limitations of Chen Duxiu's and Zhou Zuoren's views, but has also corrected serious closed-doorism and factionalism which arose from the proposition of the enlightenment movement of the bourgeois literature. Subsequently, the original features of the literature of the May 4 Movement were restored, the majority of the writers of the May 4 Movement and those of the post-May 4 Movement period were united, and a broad road for the entire new literary movement and the proletarian literature was opened. Therefore, as soon as "On New Democracy" was published, it gained the recognition and support of the broad masses of the literary and art workers in the liberated area and in the area under the administration of the Kuomintang.

## II

"The anti-imperialist and antifeudal culture of the people led by the proletariat" as proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong was in fact the culture of new democracy and new culture since the May 4 Movement. As far as the latter half of this proposition was concerned, that is, "anti-imperialist and anti-feudal culture of the people," people's views have been unanimous for numerous years. However, with regard to the other half of it, that is, "led by the proletariat," a small number of comrades have recently put forth a "query"<sup>6</sup> saying that before and after the May 4 Movement, the communist intellectuals were only "a rarity of rarities," and "there was only one Li Dazhao after all," and that "conditions were premature for guiding a large-scale literary movement with the proletarian culture and ideology" during the May 4 Movement; and therefore, the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was not led by the proletariat but by the bourgeoisie.

This proposal of assessing the leadership force and guiding ideology of the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement by the number of people cannot stand the objective tests and is contradictory. If this view was tenable, these comrades' proposition that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was led by the bourgeoisie would be invalid. This is because, among all the colleagues of the NEW YOUTH [XINWINGNIAN 2450 7230 1628], there was also a very limited number of bourgeois representatives and probably there was only one Hu Shi "after all." If "one" Li Dazhao is unable to prove that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was led by the proletariat, can we say that "one" Hu Shi is able to prove that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was led by the bourgeoisie? In addition, if this proposition is tenable, we will not know whether or not there was a question of leadership in the new literary movement of the May 4 Movement. The reason is that when compared to the cultural force of the dominating feudal compradors, the number of colleagues of the NEW YOUTH was small after all.

It is right that before the May 4 Movement and in the initial stage of the NEW YOUTH, everyone, including Li Dazhao himself, advocated that democracy was the core of their new morality, ideology, and religion. Their political goal was to build a democratic republic in China. They upheld the banner of "democracy" and "science," and advocated "curing China's political, moral, academic, and ideological darkness" with "democracy" and "science." They also advocated independent thinking, opposed modeling on the ancients and being slaves of the force of habit and urged emancipating the people's personality and ability from the shackles of feudalism. With the slogan of "literary revolution," they advocated new literature and also fully realized this spirit. Such new culture and ideology and its forms of literary expression certainly contained the nature of the bourgeois enlightenment movement. However, only a minority of those who initiated and participated in the May 4 new cultural movement stuck to the bourgeois democratic stand, and the majority of them accepted and shifted to the Marxist stand then or shortly afterwards. Most people started launching new probes from the very beginning of the May 4 Movement because the world situation and the actual situation in China forced them to realize that bourgeois democracy was notable to solve China's practical problems. Thus, they broke through the limitations of bourgeois democracy and threw themselves into the mighty torrent of accepting and spreading Marxism. As far as the major writers for the NEW YOUTH were concerned, apart from Li Dazhao who started to accept and publicize Marxism in 1918, Chen Duxiu also accepted and publicized Marxism in 1920. Lu Xun, Liu Bannong, Qian Xuantong, and so on were radical democrats then, but Lu Xun later accepted and shifted to the Marxist stand and both Liu and Qian became friends of communism. Only Hu Shi took the stand of bourgeois individualism and reformism from beginning to end. Simultaneously, between 1918 and 1920, a large group of young revolutionary intellectuals, including Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Cai Hesen, Deng Zhongxia, Yun Daiying, and so on, had accepted Marxism and gradually established in various areas throughout the country groups to study and spread Marxism. This made the May 4 new cultural movement (including the literary revolution) very obviously a movement of ideological emancipation which was characterized by the dissemination of Marxism in China, and the original nature of the bourgeois enlightenment movement vanished.

Marx pointed out that the task of science lies in grasping the intrinsic quality of things, and "if the forms of expression of things and the intrinsic quality of the things evolve into one, all kinds of science will be superfluous."<sup>7</sup> When we want to grasp the intrinsic quality of the times, we must act according to what Lenin said. We must "accurately know which class is the focus of the different times, which decides the main content of the times, the main orientation for development of the times, the major characteristics of the historical background of the times, and so on."<sup>8</sup>

While class owned "the focus of the times" of the May 4 Movement, who decided the main content of the times and the orientation for development of the times? Li Dazhao gave the definitive answer to this question in July 1918. He pointed out that the October Revolution of Russia was a "socialist revolution and a sign of the general psychological change of people all over the world in the 20th century," and "was beyond comparison to other times since the spirit and the nature of the revolution were different."<sup>9</sup>

The times have pushed the proletariat onto the historical stage and have also expelled the bourgeoisie from the historical center. This is neither a gift from any one person or any article, nor can this be denied by any one person or any article. During the May 4 Movement, the Chinese bourgeoisie no longer possessed or was able to possess the ability and qualifications for leading the Chinese revolution. The situation was the same in politics, economics, and culture. This was because "the culture and ideology of this class was far more backward than its political matters."<sup>10</sup> We can clearly understand this point when we look at what Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren have said and done.

Hu Shi participated in the new literary movement with the "Humble Opinion on Reforming Literature," and from then on adhered to one mechanical road of reform. Before the May 4 Movement, he concluded "The Goal of Literary Revolution" with the words "literature in Mandarin, Mandarin in literature." Later, when proposals such as that the evolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was the enlightenment movement of the bourgeois literature, were put forth, Hu Shi continued to talk on the reform of style, saying that "simply speaking, the most fundamental general plan for the fight of the colleagues in the revolution was only the evolution of the tools of literature."<sup>11</sup> Hu Shi also discussed the content of new literature, however, he only did this when he had no other alternative. Even when he did, he still stressed the "theory of tools" and the pessimistic side of the content. For instance, when flattering Zhou Zuoren's "Human Literature," he paid particular attention to this article's exposition and argument on "nonhuman literature," treating "Pilgrimage to the West" and "Water Margin" as "nonhuman" literary works.

The slogan of "human literature" and "ideological revolution" which were put forth by Zhou Zuoren before the May 4 Movement bore evidence of progress. However, his article "Human Literature" had too many limitations. It almost discriminated against all literary works which reflected social problems, holding that these were "nonhuman" works. According to Zhou Zuoren, not only should "Water Margin" and "Pilgrimage to the West" be discriminated against, but Lu Xun's "A Madman's Diary" should also be pushed over. After the May 4 Movement, Zhou Zuoren compared literature of the May 4 Movement to the Gongan and Jingling style of literature of the Ming Dynasty and the ancient Chinese literature saying that the "fundamental key of the new prose of the literature of the May 4 Movement...still adhered to Confucianism and Taoism."<sup>12</sup> New literature as advocated by Zhou Zuoren meant the fundamental key of Confucianism and Taoism plus the ideology of the Gongan party plus foreign influence.

We can say without exaggeration that if the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement had been led by the bourgeois writers such as Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren and had progressed in line with their ideology, it would have been no better than literature of the old democracy before the 1911 revolution. The reason for this was that among literature then, there were works such as "Revelation of the Civil Service," "Strange Things as Seen Over the Past 20 Years," and so on, which exposed the dark side of society and the imperial examination system.

The historical truth is that the representatives of the revolution of the May 4 Movement were not Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren, but were Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Lu Xun and so on, who accepted Marxism then or at a later time. This is because shortly before and after the May 4 Movement, objective conditions determined that the Chinese bourgeoisie had not been able nor was it possible for it to lead the Chinese revolution. The Chinese bourgeoisie had slackened to this extent: When they were presented with the laurel of leading the literature of the May 4 Movement, none of them dared accept it.

### III

The comrades who held that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was not led by the proletariat said that during the revolution of the May 4 Movement literature, the bourgeois ideological weapon, such as bourgeois democracy, humanism, and individualism was commonly employed and that many writers then, including Lu Xun and Guo Moruo, did not believe in socialism then and some writers even "resented" socialism. Most of the works of the May 4 Movement literature were anti-imperialist and antifeudal in nature, but this fell into the scope of the bourgeoisie. They asked if such a group of writers and the features of their work would substantiate the argument that the May 4 literary movement was guided by proletarian culture and ideology.

We should acknowledge that during the May 4 Movement and before 1921, particularly before the open split of the new literary movement, and during the new literary movement, the number of firm socialists, the advocations for establishing socialist literature, and the works on the theme of reflecting socialist revolution was really small. However, this absolutely cannot be regarded as the justification that the revolution of the May 4 Movement literature was not guided by proletarian culture and ideology but by bourgeois culture and ideology.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Only by undergoing democracy can we achieve socialism. This is an unalterable principle of Marxism."<sup>13</sup> The culture since the May 4 Movement "cannot be divorced from the leadership of communist ideology," "however, such leadership, in the present stage, is to lead the broad masses of people to launch anti-imperialist and antifeudal political revolution and cultural revolution," and all opinions which "think that the entire present national culture is or should be socialist national culture" are incorrect. The reasons are: First, such a view has "treated the propaganda of the communist ideological system as the practice of the present operational program"; second, such a view has reversed the relationship between creation and living, "national culture which takes socialism as its content must reflect socialist politics and economics," and "we have not yet formed such a complete socialist political and economic system and thus we are not yet able to have such complete socialist national culture." When Comrade Mao Zedong wrote this article in 1940, the economic and political situation in the liberated area had many socialist factors, but even so, Comrade Mao Zedong still held that it was impossible to have an entire socialist national culture, let alone the period of the May 4 Movement.

During and after the May 4 Movement and during the whole period of the democratic revolution, the specific realization of the guidance of proletarian culture and ideology on the literary revolution was the establishment of the people's anti-imperialist and antifeudal literature under the leadership of the proletariat. Will this statement confuse the boundary of proletarian culture and ideology and bourgeois culture and ideology, and lower the standard of proletarian culture and ideology? The answer is no.

First, under the peculiar semifeudal and semicolonial historical conditions of China, the bourgeoisie did not have the fundamental anti-imperialist and antifeudal nature due to its political weakness and thus did not have the ability and qualifications for leading the democratic revolution. During the entire democratic revolution, the Chinese bourgeoisie had never proposed an anti-imperialist and antifeudal culture and ideology of the masses. On the contrary, not only the stubborn individuals advertised cultural autocracy, but the propaganda by Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren of individualism and reformism, which eliminates the outstanding anti-imperialist and anti-feudal features, also opposes the people's anti-imperialist and antifeudal literature and art from various aspects. The people's anti-imperialist and antifeudal culture and ideology has been proposed only by the Chinese proletariat.

Second, practice has proven that the thorough anti-imperialist and anti-feudal nature of the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement had not originated from bourgeois democracy, humanism, and individualism. Bourgeois democracy, humanism, and individualism in fact serve to fulfill the political needs of the bourgeoisie and to seek far-reaching interests for this class, attempting to replace one exploiting system with another exploiting system. Therefore, the spearhead should not be directed against the system of private ownership itself when advertising these ideas. However, the situation was different among the representative writers of the May 4 Movement. What Lu Xun wanted to criticize was the "man-eating feast" which had existed for thousands of years. This not only included the feudal system but also the system of the "republic." ("A Madman's Diary" and "The Ever-Lit Lamp") In many of the novels which focused on life in the villages, Lu Xun gave light to the "inspiration" of the masses who suffered hardship, and this was different from traditional literature, which dramatically arranged for the appearance of a kindhearted master, a brilliant emperor, or a happy ending. Where the specific scope of emancipating the personality was concerned, Lu Xun freed himself from his inhibition and broke through the restrictions on purely seeking individual "freedom" ("Regret for the Past") and pointed out that it was necessary and important for the intellectuals to learn from the laboring masses and mind the business of the land under heaven as their own business ("An Incident"). These ideas of Lu Xun as found in his works not only were unprecedented in the literature of ancient Chinese democracy, but were also beyond comparison to the Western bourgeois literature.

Third, the fundamental factor accounting for the occurrence of the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement, which was characterized by its

anti-imperialist and antifeudal nature was the influence of the October Revolution. The second edition and the changing to vernacular writing of the NEW YOUTH took place after the October Revolution. The October Revolution enabled Chinese literary and art circles to focus on Russia, "to translate Gorki's works has become the prevailing trend."<sup>14</sup> A large group of advanced intellectuals gradually expressed doubt on their original belief, they began to think and accept Marxism, gradually forming an ideology for creation which was completely split from traditional literature, and subsequently giving rise to people's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal literature, the first of which was "A Madman's Diary." Lu Xun's road of creation has proved this point. As we all know, before the October Revolution, Lu Xun was a follower of Friedrich Nietzsche, but after the October Revolution, he felt that Nietzsche's "superman was too vague"<sup>15</sup> and shifted to sing the praises of the Russian people who "sacrificed all other things and used their flesh and bone to blunt the swords and blood to put off flames," and "saw a kind of pale light from the fading flash of swords and fire, that was the light of the early dawn of the new century."<sup>16</sup> Enlightened by the victory of the October Revolution, Lu Xun established the determination and confidence of the new century that as long as one was bold enough to struggle and sacrifice, one would be able to break up an iron house with no windows or door, and subsequently established his own opinion on literary creation. He loudly proposed that: "There will not be new literature and art in China if there are no pioneers who break through the traditional ideology and approach."<sup>17</sup> This meant that he was to split from traditional literature from content to style and proceed on a path which had never been taken before. This was not the ideology of creation of Lu Xun alone but was the main trend of Chinese literature at that time. Others following this ideology were Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Ba Jin, Lao She, Cao Yu, Yu Dafu, Ding Ling, Tian Han, and the majority of the writers before and after the May 4 Movement. Why was there only a small number of writers of the new literary movement who degenerated to feudal comprador writers, but a large number of writers who proceeded on the socialist revolutionary road? Was this only a coincidence? The answer is certainly no. This is because literature of the new democracy which originated from the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was in fact part of the entire literary cause of the proletariat, and it was an exorable course of history for literature of new democracy to progress to socialist literature.

#### IV

It was Chen Duxiu who first put forth the view that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was the enlightenment movement of bourgeois literature. He held that the Chinese revolution which started during the May 4 Movement bore the bourgeois democratic nature and thus the formula could only be: "Command the revolutionary bourgeoisie and unite the revolutionary proletariat to achieve bourgeois democratic revolution."<sup>18</sup> Proceeding from such a rightist point of view, Chen Duxiu treated the entire May 4 Movement, which included the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement as a movement led by the bourgeoisie, in order to materialize its class interests.

After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, the errors of Chen Duxiu's rightist opportunism inside the party were purged and it was pointed out that the proletariat was completely capable and qualified to lead the Chinese revolution. However, another trend existed inside the party at the same time. That trend was to negate the bourgeois democratic nature of the Chinese revolution, holding that it was or should be socialism. If the times were or should have been the times of socialist revolution, only the literature which reflected the spirit of the socialist revolutionary era should be regarded as the literature of the proletariat; however, such literature was rare or did not exist during the May 4 Movement. Therefore, some comrades held that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement "reflected the gaining ground of the culture of the rising bourgeoisie in China,"<sup>19</sup> and it had no practical impact on the proletariat and that the proletariat should have its own "May 4 Movement," and "this should be the proletarian revolutionary and socialist movement of literature and art."<sup>20</sup>

Here, the question lies in that the bourgeois democratic nature of the Chinese revolution is being divided into an old democracy under the leadership of the bourgeoisie before the May 4 Movement and new democracy under the leadership of the proletariat after the May 4 Movement. Starting from the May 4 Movement, literary revolution no longer belonged to old democracy, but belonged to new democracy. It was led by the proletariat and guided by communist ideology, and the masses' new anti-imperialist and antifeudal literature meant literature of new democracy. If we, like Chen Duxiu after the May 4 Movement, abandon the proletariat's right to leadership over the Chinese revolution and overestimate the capacity of the Chinese bourgeoisie, then we would certainly draw a rightist conclusion that the May 4 literary revolution was "commanded" by the bourgeoisie. But if we, like some other comrades in our party, negate the democratic nature of the Chinese revolution and attempt to make it a socialist revolution by demand, then we would certainly draw a "leftist" conclusion that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement "represented" the gaining ground of the bourgeoisie. The view that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was the enlightenment movement of the bourgeois literature was exactly the product of such rightist and "leftist" trends. Comrade Mao Zedong's "On New Democracy" and his series of works on democratic revolution have corrected these errors and enabled us to have a scientific understanding of the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement. When the democratic revolution concluded, many comrades who advocated that the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement was the enlightenment movement of the bourgeois literature changed their views and spontaneously united their understanding with the views of "On New Democracy," acknowledging that it was the people's anti-imperialist and antifeudal literature of the new democracy under the leadership of the proletariat. This was a fact known to all in modern Chinese revolutionary history and the modern history of literature. Up to now, some comrades still ignore this fact and advocate basing the understanding of the revolution of the literature of the May 4 Movement on the "leftist" and rightist views, such as viewing it as the enlightenment movement of bourgeois literature. This must be treated as a kind of retrogression.

Establishing the theory of new democracy and correctly formulating the party's general line and general policy during the democratic revolution was the great contribution of the veteran proletarian revolutionaries represented by Comrade Mao Zedong to the Chinese revolution and Marxism. The putting forth of the theory of new democracy was a result of the struggle against various "leftist" and rightist errors and was also the glamorous fruit of the numerous revolutionary martyrs in exchange for their blood. The theory of new democracy is the beacon lighting our observation and analysis of all social phenomena during the democratic revolution. Whoever deviates from it will go astray.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Struggle for Building New China's People's Literature and Art."
2. "On Literary Revolution."
3. "Expounding on Literary Literature."
4. "On Literary Revolution in the Course of Building."
5. "Human Literature."
6. "Human Literature."
7. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 923.
8. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 123.
9. "Comparison of French and Russian Revolutions."
10. "On New Democracy."
11. "Be Driven To Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels."
12. Preface to "Complete New Chinese Literature--Volume on Prose."
13. "On Federal Government."
14. Mao Dun: "Gorki and the Chinese Literary Circles."
15. "Hot Wind--Random Thoughts 41."
16. "Hot Wind--Random Thoughts 59."
17. "On With Eyes Open."
18. "The Vanguard," No 2.
19. Qu Qiubai: "Please Take Off the Clothes of the 'May 4 Movement'."
20. Qu Qiubai: "The Practical Problem of the General Masses' Literature and Art."

## TAKE A BROAD AND LONG-TERM VIEW, BRAVELY CARRY OUT REFORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 84 pp 21-22

[Article by Shi Youxin [2457 0654 2946]]

[Text] Only 17 years are left to the close of this century from now. The situation requires that we should grasp very, very firmly all fields of work proposed by the 12th CPC National Congress, seriously study new conditions, bravely create a new situation, and rapidly push forward our undertakings in construction and reform. All mentalities not in line with this should be changed.

Taking a broad and long-term view will enable us to have a strategic eye, and, derived therefrom, the demand for reform and the courage to blaze new trails. The leading comrades of some units are busy all day with routine, they are drowning in an ocean of meetings, and buried in piles of documents. When many problems crop up, they are used to treating symptoms, but not the disease. Therefore, they never succeed in making a breakthrough. And one of the important reasons is that they lack a strategic eye, they have failed to link the professions they are in charge of with the party's general line and task. The party's general line and the fighting target to be fulfilled by the end of this century is based on the practical work of all fields, professions, and trades, and on the actual conditions of our country. Their formulation has set new and higher demands for the work in all departments and units. And their fulfillment will be the result of the common efforts of all departments and units. Only when we place the work of our own unit and the present condition of production in the general planning for the economic and social development in the next 17 years will we be able to see clearly the gap between our work and the requirements of the times, and what contradictions are to be solved; only then will strong aspirations for reform and for blazing new trails arise. How can one acquire a lofty ambition for reform without understanding the present conditions in depth and without a cool-headed forecast of the future?

What is worth our particular attention is that modern science and technology is developing with an unprecedented speed, and the new technological revolution has brought about more and more profound changes in the production and social life in many countries. One of the implications of the broad and long-term view we are talking about is paying close attention to the trends

in this aspect. It will be wrong for us to be out of touch with reality, or to hold the view that "a slow remedy cannot meet an urgency," refusing to exert our efforts in this aspect. We should do our best to adopt the world's most up-to-date technological achievements whenever we have the conditions to do so. In those aspects in which we have no conditions to adopt these up-to-date technological achievements for the time being, but in which research can be carried out, we should start doing research on them. As to those aspects in which we have no conditions to adopt the updated technological achievements, nor the conditions to do research, we should also follow closely their development, and be prepared to start doing research or adopt them once the conditions are ripe. Therefore, starting from now, comrades in leading posts should gradually get familiar with and master some necessary knowledge of modern natural sciences. Whether the leadership knows about modern science and technology has a direct bearing on whether it is able to correctly employ science and technology cadres, and to give play to their talents in leading talented people. At the same time, if one wishes to stand higher, to see farther, commanding a broader view, so as to draw up a correct decision on the prospects for one's own unit, one should arm oneself with knowledge of modern science and culture.

At present, the resistance to reforms and blazing new trails chiefly comes from the influences of "leftist" ideology and various forces of conventionality. Why is it that without making any study of the specific conditions, some comrades are always fond of raising the question "is it a practice of 'socialism' or 'capitalism'?" This is because in the very depths of their minds there exist the remnants of muddleheaded ideas of the past. When we talk about reforms, we only want to reform old frame works and practices in the relations of production and the superstructure not in line with the development of the productive forces. Some of them, such as "everyone eating from the same big pot," which has been regarded as an expression of the superiority of socialism, actually run counter to socialist principles. Others, such as laying sole emphasis on the belief that the higher the level of the public ownership, the better, regardless of the development of productive forces, and on the belief that the more enterprises with ownership by the whole people under the control of the state, the better, and so on and so forth, are deviating from the state of affairs in China, and are the result of one-sided understanding of the theory of socialism. Practice in the past has proved that such dogmas and frame works have restricted the growth of productive forces of our country, and have affected our socialist construction. Doing away with these malpractices today will only further complete and perfect the relations of production and the superstructure of socialism, further liberate productive forces, and promote the development of the four modernizations. And how can they in any way impede our socialist cause?

Socialism, whether treated as a theoretical system or a movement in real life, is continuously developing. Engels said: "In my opinion, the so-called 'socialist society' will not be something which never changes, and it should be regarded as a society undergoing constant changes and reforms like any other social system." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, p 443) We should persist in the basic principles of socialism, otherwise we

will lose our direction. However, there should be no fixed and unchanging mold in the concrete practice of building socialism. The positive and negative experiences over the past years have helped us deepen our understanding of the theory of scientific socialism, and our understanding of the state of affairs in China. Therefore, the application of the theory of socialism to China has also developed. This is not deviating from socialism, but precisely necessitated by the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The reforms we are carrying out, though initial, have definitely achieved obvious good results. If we plunge ourselves into practice and make inspection in depth, while listening carefully to the voices of the masses, it will certainly be helpful to us in breaking free of the bonds of past molds and outdated ideas, and our faith in the correctness and necessity of reform will be enhanced, and with firm steps we will march along the road of reform and blazing new trails.

In order to carry out reform, it is necessary for us to possess the initiative of daring to march ahead. Those who dread the fire or are afraid of being burned once they deviate a little from the old track will never become trailblazers. True, we should attach importance to the experiences of our predecessors, which will enable us to stumble less often, and to avoid going down more tortuous paths. However, we should not follow the ways of our predecessors in everything, at all times, walking in their footsteps; otherwise, how can history ever develop? Mankind is derived from anthropoids. The first anthropoid who stood and walked on its feet certainly had no predecessors to follow. If the ancestors of mankind had been so conservative as to refuse to walk on their feet without example, they would never have walked out of the jungle. There is no precedent for the four modernizations. We shall have to rely on ourselves in weighing the pros and cons in many things, in initiating them boldly. The slogan of "planting grass and trees, curing poverty to get rich" is unprecedented in the history of the building of the northwest. However, this very slogan has found the way to change the agricultural features of the northwest. The reforms in operation and management conducted by Bu Xinsheng have shocked some people. However, these measures are becoming more and more effective with each passing day. Therefore, it can be seen that in order to develop one's ability to the full, the spirit of initiative is most valuable. Of course, it is also very important to learn from others' experiences. However, we cannot have everybody sitting and waiting to transplant others' experiences. In that way, others' experiences will never come into being. Therefore, it is still necessary to advocate the spirit of initiative.

Then, does it mean advocating the spirit of taking risks? No. Whether in structural reform or reform of the economic structure, they both involve great complexity, and a change in any link will bring about chain reactions. Therefore, we must be meticulous. Nevertheless, when we stress meticulousness, by no means should we stay where we are. Here, the crux is doing a good job in investigation and study. What should undergo reform, and what should not, and what should be given priority in reform should all be decided by carrying out investigation and study. In major reforms, trial experiments should be carried out, and the practice of rushing headlong into mass action should be prevented. Of course, even so doing, it can still be difficult to

ensure there is no danger of anything going wrong. Blazing new trails will invariably involve a process of probing. Some mistakes will appear, and all we need do is sum up our experiences, and correct them promptly. As long as we walk, we cannot avoid stumbling altogether. If we should forbid the appearance of any mistakes, that would mean blocking the road to blazing new trails.

Reform and blazing new trails involve hardships and exhaustion, much brain-work, and effort. It is necessary to break through many barriers, tangible or intangible, such as the bonds of "leftist" ideas, obstruction of ideas of sticking to old ways, opposition from those with vested interests in the old ways, impedances of all descriptions, and so on. At times, when things are not going so smoothly, reformists will be blamed, misunderstood, and even incur temporary suppression. Therefore, courage is especially needed in carrying out reforms and blazing new trails. Such courage derives from the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly, from a high sense of responsibility, and from an earnest devotion to the cause of the party and the people. It is an important expression of the noble character of communists in the new stage. We must see that with the development in depth of the current party rectification, a road for reform will inevitably be opened up. The party is calling for reform, and the people are supporting reform. With the strength of these two tremendous powers, what are we afraid of?

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ADOPT AN OVERALL POINT OF VIEW, SUPPORT THE KEY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

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[Article by Liang Buting [2733 2975 1656]]

[Text] Concentration of financial power and material power to guarantee key construction projects represents an important policy of the CPC Central Committee for the realization of the strategic goals that have been put forth by the 12th CPC National Congress. And to do a good job in key construction projects is closely related with the development of the economy of China and the basic interest of the people. There will be no way to talk about the development of the economy if we fail to carry out and complete key construction projects, nor will it be possible to realize the grand goals put forth by the 12th CPC National Congress. Shandong is one of the provinces with more state key construction projects that have to be completed during the Sixth 5-Year Plan. Therefore, it is our historic obligation and responsibility as well as glorious task to mobilize the strength of various aspects and the broad masses of people to support key construction projects.

In order to guarantee key construction projects, with energy and transportation representing the center, it is imperative not only to concentrate financial and material strength, but also to unify people's understanding and foster the concept of "coordinating all activities across the country" and consciously subordinate the interest of the part to the whole. The national economy is a complicated entity that has its own innate development law. Therefore, it is demanded that the development of the national economic departments must be made according to order of importance, coupled with proper proportion. Energy and transportation represent important factors that are decisive in determining the pace of economic development. If we fail to develop energy and transportation, there will be no hope for the whole situation, nor will there be motive force for determining the pace of the development of the national economy. Therefore, in carrying out economic construction, it is imperative to proceed from the whole situation, carry out work in order of importance, and give up minor works in the interest of the major ones. Some of the projects that are under construction may be considered as being imperative when they are viewed from the point of partial situations, but when they are viewed from the point of the whole, they will affect society's economic accomplishments. Therefore, such projects cannot

but be suspended or delayed. Some new construction projects may be rational when they are viewed from the point of partial situations, but when they are viewed from the point of the whole situation, they cannot but be abandoned. Under this condition, we must put the interest of the whole in first place and make minor sacrifices to safeguard major interests, and such sacrifices are necessary.

Before we are able to foster the concept of giving consideration to the interest of the whole in our effort to support key construction projects, it is imperative to carry out enormous, arduous, and meticulous ideological and educational work as well as organizational work. Key construction projects are characterized by huge investments, long cycles, and a number of supplementary projects. Therefore, key construction projects must be guaranteed in such aspects as land requisition, relocation, transportation, construction, designing, the supply of building materials, and the supply of necessities of life. When viewed in the long term, key construction projects will bring tremendous advantages and interest to the state and localities. But when viewed from the intermediate term, they will temporarily affect the interests of some units and people because such projects require land requisition and organization. In the last 3 years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the investments made by the province in energy and transportation comprise about 70 percent of the total investments in capital construction across the province, with a total of one-third of the prefectures across the province involved in the construction. The task of leadership is to educate the masses, lead them to proceed from the interest of the whole, combine intermediate interest with long-term interest and partial interest with the interest of the whole, and consciously subordinate individual and partial interest to the interest of the whole. In the process of handling these relations, we have spared no effort to step up ideological and education work, profoundly carry out education in patriotism and communism, lead the masses to correctly handle the interest between the state, collective, and individuals, consider supporting key construction projects as concrete action in demonstrating patriotism, and carry out meticulous organization and arrangement in such aspects as coordinating and using transportation, construction, and technology and the supply of the necessities of life, and all these are aimed at guaranteeing key construction projects. Resolute measures have been taken to curtail the capital construction projects that are carried out by localities, departments, and enterprises with capital raised by themselves or loans and that are not urgently needed or had no construction conditions. And the capital saved from this move has been used in tapping the potential and reforming the existing enterprises while the labor force and building materials from these suspended projects have been used to support key construction projects. In this way, we have been able to give "five preferences" to state key construction projects in the following ways:

Preferences are given to land requisition by government and relocation. We have given primary consideration to land requisition by government for state key construction projects. The method of "using first and requisitioning second" has been introduced for the key construction projects that urgently need land. This method has been used in the four state key

construction projects of the Yantai synthetic leather factory, the Yanzhou mines area, Shijiusuo harbor, and the Yanshi railway, and these projects have used a total of more than 60,000 mu of land. Thanks to this method, the construction of these projects has been carried out smoothly.

Preferential arrangement is given with regard to construction force. We have organized backbone force for all state key construction projects that are carried out by localities. The projects for the building of the Yantai synthetic leather factory were carried out by the technologically stronger building and installation force in the province and city. When Yantai regional construction companies became contractors for 83 projects in Yantai region and city, measures were taken by the Yantai regional and city CPC committees, in their bid to guarantee state key construction projects, to delay the execution of these 83 projects or to shift them to building construction units of people's communes and production teams and to organize the main force of the regional construction companies to carry out the leather factory project.

Preference is given to supplying local materials. The places where key construction projects are carried out have supplied local materials in time so as to meet the needs and guarantee the development of the projects. When the supply of local materials is tight, preference is given to supplying key construction projects so that no key construction projects have been affected by a tight supply of local materials.

Preference is given to guaranteeing transportation and water and electric supply. Goods and materials supply departments at various levels, transportation departments, electric power departments, and chemical departments have given priority to key construction projects, which they have treated as their primary customers. Rizhao Prefecture only has a small hydroelectric power station with a capacity of 8,000 kilowatts. In its effort to guarantee the construction of Shijiusuo harbor, it used high-cost diesel engines for irrigation during the dry season so as to supply electricity for the key construction projects. When the construction of the harbor needed more electricity, the electric power for industrial and mining enterprises across the prefecture was used for the construction of the harbor.

Effort has also been made to guarantee the supply of the necessities of life, particularly the supply of certain goods that are in short supply.

The people of Shandong Province, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, said that they will support key construction projects in the way they supported revolutionary war in the past. In the process of the construction of the Yanshi railway, the masses of the people in such places as the Yimeng hilly region and Qufu Prefecture allocated 3,500 rooms for construction workers and built over 10,000 offices and dormitories. A number of people's communes and production teams have voluntarily delivered coal, vegetables, and rice to workers. Almost all of the villages in the more than 450 production brigades along the projected railway line have sent people to help in such work as crushing stones, carrying sand, and building bridges and culverts. The railway used more than 20,000 mu of land, which consequently

resulted in enormous relocation work. There were contradictions, of course, but thanks to the broad masses of the people who have put state interest in first place, the projects have been carried out smoothly. It is because of such reasons that key construction projects in Shandong Province have been carried out quite rapidly and with good quality. The various related projects have been carried out according to and even earlier than scheduled. Some projects, including single projects, have been completed or basically completed and have gradually formed productive forces.

Will the measures to ensure key construction projects affect the development of local economy? Some comrades worried that such measures will affect the development of local economy. But it is not necessary to worry. When we said that we must give priority to the whole, we do not mean to give up the part. Partial interest represents a part of the interest of the whole. To stress the importance of concentrating and correcting scattered financial and material power to guarantee key construction projects will in no way affect the development of local economy; to the contrary, such measures will finally promote in a big way the development of local economy.

First, the construction of state key projects will enable localities to build service and processing factories that will support key projects. For example, the Yantai synthetic leather factory, which is one of the national key projects and which has begun operating, has not only promoted the development of service-oriented and commercial enterprises, but has also opened up broad prospects for the development of local light industry, textile industry, and commercial industry. A total of seven projects that will make use of synthetic leather products and leftover bits and pieces from the factory are under construction or have been put into operation. The completion of these projects will help expand the range of the use of the products of the leather factory promote product renewals. In this way, some local factories that are having a hard time will be able to survive while the production of local industry will be boosted.

Second, the construction of state key projects will help promote the technology of local enterprises. On the one hand, state key construction projects are characterized by more advanced technology. Some projects have used imported technologies from other countries while some others have used the most advanced technologies of the country, coupled with strong technical force. These projects have set a good example for localities with regard to modern technology, and they are also in a position to help localities in the way of training technicians and supporting local enterprises in carrying out technological reform. On the other hand, curtailing local capital construction is helpful in enabling certain local enterprises to shift from relying on extensive expansion of reproduction to intensive expansion of reproduction and to use advanced technology, tap their potential, improve technological processes and product structure, expand production, increase varieties, and improve quality.

Third, the construction of state key projects will create favorable conditions for the exploitation of local resources and circulation of commodities. For example, Lingyi region, where the Yanshi railway passes through, was

previously poor in transportation. As a result, the rich natural resources of this region had not been tapped for a long time, enormous agricultural and sideline products could not be transported out, and products from other places could not be transported in. Consequently, the economy of this region remained backward. The building of the railway has provided a good opportunity for this region to develop its economy. This region is now making provision for developing its economy and defining medium- and long-term economic development plans for the areas along the railway line. Plans for building a big cement plant, a glass plate factory, and gypsum mines have either been included in the Sixth 5-Year Plan or will be included in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Technological reforms are being carried out by a number of small cement factories. In the near future, this region will be turned into a base of the building materials industry, coupled with a number of medium and small light industrial and textile enterprises and agricultural and sideline products processing enterprises. That is to say, this old revolutionary base in the southern part of the province will be turned into a prosperous region.

Fourth, the construction of state key projects will promote the relations between industry and agriculture in developing urban and rural construction. For example, the prefectures of Guangrao, Lijin, and Kenli were previously poor. But following the exploitation of oil resources in these places and the formation of the Shengli oil field, a great number of local enterprises have been set up to supplement the constantly developing support infrastructure of the oil field. A number of primary and secondary schools, hospitals, and cultural and recreation centers have been built, coupled with a national petroleum institution. These barren places have consequently been turned into a new industrial city, which also represents a local economic and cultural center. In carrying out key construction projects, we have emphasized the importance of the whole situation of the modernization program. And on the basis of new equipment and advanced technology, we have made considerations in an overall way, solicited the opinions of experts and various entities, and defined a development plan with regard to the comprehensive exploitation and utilization of such aspects as infrastructure and supplementary facilities, including transportation, water and electric supply, commercial service, workers' dormitories, post and telecommunications, culture and education, and sports and health. Consequently, the completion of key construction projects has been followed by the emergence of a small but modern city. And the emergence of a new industrial city is helpful in promoting rural economy in a big way.

The construction of key projects has to occupy part of the land. In this way, surplus agricultural labor force in rural areas will increase, affecting the improvement of the living standard of local population. All things have their own favorable conditions and unfavorable conditions in the process of their development. The question is how to display subjective initiative to change unfavorable conditions into favorable conditions. In the process of carrying out construction projects, we have organized surplus laborers in localities to directly take part in key projects in the way of producing the local building materials that are needed in the construction and providing various services. In this way, the income of this

portion of the people has been increased considerably and not decreased. At the same time, we have also paid attention to displaying local advantages and expanding ways of production. As a consequence, we have found the following ways for arranging agricultural surplus labor force from a long-term point of view and constantly improving people's living standard:

Develop in a big way and support the production and management of the key and specialized peasants households in the villages near key construction projects. We have taken active measures to lead such households to shift their main production to the ones that rely on local resources. Such production includes exploitation production and industrial and sideline production, which employ certain labor force and consume less energy; the production that requires historical and traditional craft; and the production that is urgently needed by the masses. Through these measures, we have been able to arrange the employment of a great number of surplus laborers so as to promote in an overall way the development of industry, agriculture, and commerce and raise the commodity rate of agricultural and sideline products.

Develop people's commune and production team enterprises that serve key construction projects by making use of local resources. More key construction projects are being carried out in Zhouxian Prefecture. Consequently, more land has been used by these projects, affecting the individual interest of a rural population of as many as 110,000, and there is a contradiction between intermediate interest and long-term interest. Under this condition, the prefectural CPC committee and government have done a good job of ideological work. At the same time, measures have been taken to utilize local resources and rapidly develop the building materials industry that includes quarrying, sand collecting, and lime processing. There are now 14 river sand processing factories across the prefecture, with annual production and sales of more than 500,000 cubic meters. In addition, there are more than 100 people's commune and production team stone materials factories and more than 120 peasants households that are also specialized in producing stone building materials, with annual production of over 400,000 cubic meters of various specifications of stones. There are 210 lime kilns, with an annual production of more than 100,000 tons of lime. The number of the workers of the building materials industry across the prefecture is now 17,000. This industry has supported key construction projects and employed a great number of surplus laborers, and it has enabled peasants to increase their income. The situations in other prefectures are similar.

Agricultural production structure has been readjusted in time to expand the production of agricultural commodities and to set up life service undertakings. The prefecture of Rizhao, where Shijiusuo harbor is located and whose grain growing acreage has been decreased, has spared no effort to develop animal husbandry and poultry breeding, vegetable growing, and the processing of agricultural and sideline products to supply enormous necessities of life to the workers who are building the harbor. Peasants have also increased their income through these production activities. The bank deposits of the peasants across the prefecture totaled more than 72 million yuan last year; this figure is 7 times higher than the figure for 1978. Shuangmiao production brigade, which borders on the harbor, was dependent on

the state before 1978. But last year it recorded an income of 1.27 million yuan from sideline production. This figure made up 88.2 percent of total income, with an average distribution income rocketing from 62 yuan to 807 yuan. This production brigade has become relatively rich.

Do a good job of comprehensive utilization by turning waste into wealth. The lands of the people's communes and production teams around the Yanzhou mining area have seriously sunk because of coal exploitation. Peasants turned these unfavorable conditions into favorable conditions. They used cinder and earth from elsewhere to fill in the sinking lands, which have consequently been turned into fertile lands. They have also used gangues to burn bricks to increase income in the way of using less cultivated lands. The lands that have sunk quite deeply have been turned into ponds for fish breeding. Now these places have 300 mu of fish breeding ponds, with an income in excess of 50,000 yuan.

Facts proved that to concentrate power in support of key construction projects is in the interest of realizing the modernization program and improving people's living standard. The key question for guaranteeing key construction projects and vitalizing local economy is to strengthen leadership and make overall arrangement. As long as we are able to correctly understand and handle the relations between the whole and the part, coupled with ideological and education work and the corresponding measures, the broad masses of cadres and people will be able to put the interest of the whole in first place and make concerted effort in contributing their strength to do a good job in key construction projects.

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DEVELOP A SYSTEM OF PLANNED MANAGEMENT WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS AND A SCIENCE OF PLANNED ECONOMY

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[Article by Fang Weizhong [2075 4850 0022]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, following the restoration of order out of chaos and rectification of "leftist" guiding thought in economic construction, intense changes have taken place in various sectors of the national economy. The extensive reform centered in the countryside of the system of contracted responsibilities on a household basis with remuneration linked to output has promoted a change in agriculture from self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient production to specialized commodity production. This has effectively facilitated the development of agricultural production and unprecedented prosperity has appeared throughout the rural economy. In the cities and towns the development of diverse forms of economies and operations and the gradual expansion of the decisionmaking power of industrial and commercial enterprises have begun to bring about a change in the situation of a lack of flexibility and vitality in the economy. Enforcement of the open-door policy has broken through our country's long-term basically closed-door status, and diverse forms of economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries are being developed continuously. As a result of the bold adoption of a series of readjustment measures, the prolonged state of a great imbalance in the relationship between consumption and accumulation and between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry has basically been readjusted and rectified. Science, technology, and educational and cultural enterprises have begun to assume an important role, and the national economy is gradually proceeding on the road of healthy development. These changes have given planning work a series of new conditions and new problems. The 12th CPC National Congress decided that by the end of this century, and under the logical premise of improving economic results, the annual gross output value of industry and agriculture will be quadrupled. The realization of this gigantic objective requires long-term planning with a long-range vision, is definitely practical, and calls for scientific management and meticulous organization, thus imposing even higher demands on the quality of planning work. In other words, development of the current situation and realization of the strategic arrangements determined at the 12th CPC National Congress urgently require us, on the basis of summarizing past experiences,

to analyze new conditions, solve new problems, study theories on planning, reform the planning system, and create a new situation for planning work.

Since the establishment of the PRC, we have achieved notable results in promptly achieving an economic recovery and developing planned economic construction. On the hopelessly tattered ruins of the economic system of old China, we have gradually built an independent and relatively integrated industrial structure and national economic system, and thus laid a reliable foundation for the continued development of socialist modernization. In our big but economically backward country, we have basically solved the food and clothing problems of our population of 1 billion people, thus ensuring a stable life for the people as well as social stability. This amply demonstrates the great superiority of socialist planned economy. Unfortunately, in past economic construction, principally due to the influence of "leftist" guiding thought, several major errors were committed, but under the leadership of the party Central Committee and following conscious and planned readjustment, all the difficulties resulting therefrom have been effectively overcome. This further illustrates that the planned economic system has great vitality. Actual practice has shown that enforcement of planned economy on the basis of the system of public ownership constitutes a basic characteristic of socialist economy. A firm insistence on planned economy is an important content in firmly insisting on taking the socialist road and is a basic guarantee for the promotion of our country's socialist modernization construction.

Concurrently with taking into account all the results achieved in our country's enforcement of a planned economy, it is necessary to realistically observe that due to the defects and shortcomings in our past planning work, such as being anxious for quick results, and asserting too much control and too strict control, the superior character of the planned economy has never been fully and consistently displayed. In recent years, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the State Council, we have done much to reform planning work and to reform the planning system. More important, following the restoring of order out of chaos and consistently enforcing the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving, we have reasserted the principle of seeking truth from facts and taking steady steps forward, insisted on achieving an overall balance, and paid due regards, under the logical premise of taking the planned economy as the leading factor, to bringing the role of regulation by market mechanism into full play and resorting to economic methods in managing the economy. All these endeavors have achieved relatively good results. However, these improvements and the restructuring work are still in the initial stage and in both planning work and the planning system many problems and defects may still be found which can hardly meet the needs of socialist modernization construction. For example, in planning theories and actual planning practices, satisfactory solutions have not yet been found concerning the following problems: How to correctly and consistently carry out the principle of taking planned economy as the principal factor and regulation by market mechanism as the supplementary factor, and appropriately define and enforce mandatory planning, guidance planning, and regulation by market mechanism; conforming with the new situation, how to do a good job in achieving an

overall balance and improving the scientific nature and forecasting nature of planning; how to bring out in planning the thought centered on improvement of economic results and consistently enforce the policy that economic development must rely on the progress of science and technology, and so on. Obviously, if these problems are not solved, we can hardly arouse to the fullest extent the enthusiasm and initiative of the parties concerned and can hardly propel and facilitate the progress of socialist modernization projects in fulfilling the fixed targets. Hence, an important and urgent task lying squarely before all our workers engaged in actual planning work and in theoretical work in planning is to restructure the planning system, and develop a system of planned management with Chinese characteristics and a science of planned economy, as well as improve the level of all planning work.

At the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping advocated that we must develop a socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is a basic conclusion derived from a correct general summary of the positive and negative sides of the experiences in our country's socialist construction and also constitute the basic guiding thinking at the present stage of our work. Development of a socialism with Chinese characteristics represents a general theme. It embodies extremely extensive and rich contents, and requires various sides and the various fronts to make concerted efforts, display a creative spirit, work hard, and studiously and dauntlessly engage in probing and investigation work. Since planned economy is a basic characteristic of socialist economy and planned management is the principal part of management of the national economy, the search for and development of a system of planned management and a science of planned economy have an exceedingly important significance in the development of a socialism with Chinese characteristics. All of our workers engaged in actual planning work and in theoretical work in planning must weave closely together their own work with this supreme objective, liberate their thinking, seek truth from facts, and devote dauntless and richly effective efforts to the fulfillment of this historical task.

Starting everything from reality, linking theory with practice, being practical and realistic, and examining truth and developing truth in practice constitute the ideological line of all work of our party. In order to develop a system of planned management with Chinese characteristics and a science of planned economy, it is necessary to take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as guidance, start from the current stage of the actual conditions of our country, closely link theory with reality and abide by the objective economic laws to correctly understand, explain, and solve the various important lessons encountered in actual practice in planning work.

Marx and Engels made a penetrating analysis of the fundamental contradictions in a capitalist society and the trend of their development, and predicted that the system of public ownership of the means of production would replace private ownership of the means of production and that planned and proportionate development of socialist economy would ultimately replace the state of anarchy in production in a capitalist society. In accordance with the laws governing historical, economic, and technological development, they

penetratingly analyzed and skillfully pointed out the subjective inevitability and enormous superiority of the enforcement of planned economy under socialism, and expostulated certain basic characteristics of socialist planned economy. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin and Stalin for the first time put into practice the scientific socialist theories of Marxism, and in certain respects enriched the theories of Marxism on planned economy. Over the past several decades, actual practice in socialist construction in our country and in certain other countries has shown the absolute correctness of the basic Marxist viewpoints and principles concerning the planned development of socialist construction. In the past, they served as the guiding post for our actions. Today they still constitute the theoretical foundation for our probing, and developing, a planned management system with Chinese characteristics and a science of planned economy. Concerning this important problem involving a matter of principle, we should never adopt a skeptical or wavering attitude.

In emphasizing that we must take the Marxist theories of planned economy as guidance, we are indeed not resorting to "bookishness or making certain conclusions," or even individual theories, as ready answers to problems arising in actual work. The institution of planned economy is a universal law in the economic development of socialist countries, but in its concrete enforcement each country by necessity has its own special characteristics due to its national condition being different from other countries. Only in the taking of a Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method in analyzing the concrete condition of one's own country and studying the special laws governing the country's economic development is it possible to develop a scientific system of planned management with the country's own characteristics, fully display the superior character of planned economy, and make use of its own new experiences to enrich and develop the Marxist theories on planned economy. Only in so doing are we truly insisting on Marxism. In the final analysis, the reason for the existence in the past of various defects and drawbacks in our planning work and planning system is precisely because, in certain thinking and methodology, we departed from our country's national condition and failed to creatively use and develop, in accordance with China's concrete conditions, Marxist theories on planned economy. Therefore, to develop a Chinese-style system of planned management and science of planned economy, it is necessary to have a full knowledge of China's national condition and endeavor to suit our thinking and actions to this national condition.

This being the case, what is our country's basic national condition and what are its characteristics? To give an all-round and correct answer to this question, it is necessary to carry out an analysis and research on many and various sides. As we see it now, we should pay close attention to at least the following aspects:

1. Our country is a socialist country, a type of socialist economy under the system of public ownership and with state-run economy as the leading factor has occupied an absolutely predominant position in the national economy. This is an objective foundation for the institution of a planned economy. However, socialism in our country was formed on the basis of

capitalism not yet attaining its full development. At the present stage of the socialist public ownership system in our country, two forms still exist, that is, in the national economy there still exist, to a certain extent, individual economy and other economic forms, and there still exists an urgent need for greatly developing socialist commodity production and commodity exchanges. This condition vastly differs from the anticipation of Marx and Engels of the realization of a unitary system of ownership by all people and of a socialism in which commodity production has been eliminated.

2. Our country has a huge population and a poor foundation to start with, but is confronted with the burdensome tasks of having to develop production and construction and improve the people's standard of living. A huge population and plentiful manpower resources are advantages for economic development. But under the conditions of the productive force being at a rather low level, food, education, and employment have all become serious problems. In our country, construction and democracy, accumulation, and consumption will remain in a state of stringency and imbalance for a long time. Hence, how to concurrently handle well economic development and social development, and production and construction with the people's standard of living, and how to correctly handle the relations between the state, the collective, and the individual, constitute a big problem which is extremely complex but must be adequately solved.

3. Our country has a vast territory and relatively plentiful resources. The size and population of a single province are comparable to those of a whole country in Europe. Our various localities differ vastly from each other in their national conditions and economic and cultural development.

4. Our country enjoys an advantageous international environment and can make good use of foreign capital and introduce advanced technology for the development of its internal economy. At the same time, we are facing a serious challenge from the world's new technological revolution.

The above-mentioned basic national condition determines that our country's socialist modernization is carried out under many complex conditions and contradictions, and that we must solve a series of problems never encountered by our ancestors. If our system of planned management and science of planned economy must truly conform with reality and effectively display their functions, it is necessary, on our part, that on various sides, including social and economic development methods, planning structure, planned system, and planning methods, we must start from the basic national condition and demonstrate, and conform with, the requirements of this basic national condition.

First, we must start from the national condition of our country and determine our ideology on our social and economic development. 1) We must establish a viewpoint on long-term construction. Because our country has a large population, an enormous territory, plentiful resources, a superior socialist system, and an advantageous international environment, construction of our four modernizations will certainly be successful. It would be completely erroneous to make a low estimate of the advantageous conditions, or to be

passive or pessimistic or not to do anything at all. At the same time, our special national condition, such as a huge population and a poor foundation to start with, also determines that the socialist modernization of our country will require prolonged efforts before it can achieve success. We must firmly insist on working within our capability, actively engage in struggles, and realize our modernization objective step by step and at different stages, and we cannot hope that it can be accomplished at one stroke. 2) We must establish a viewpoint of all-round development. In other words, we must pay due regard to all sides and truly insist on proportionate development. For example, economic, technological, and social development must be closely coordinated, unified arrangements must be made for production and construction, for people's standard of living, and for protection of the ecological environment, there must be a rational plan of the industrial structure and distribution system, and there must be an overall consideration of material production and production by the population. Proportionate development by no means excludes development of major projects. Correctly selecting the major projects and appropriately ensuring their fulfillment are precisely for the purpose of achieving a proportionate development. But the major projects and the rank-and-file projects must be appropriately coordinated so that they can propel and help each other. Only in so doing is it possible to ensure the sustained and healthy development of our national economy and obtain good socioeconomic effects. 3) Various viewpoints must be established. All our economic work must follow the method of suiting measures to locality, to timing and to circumstances. We must bring superiority into full play, display our strong points and avoid our weak points, and, above all, guard against taking simplified and stereotyped steps. Concerning many important social and economic problems, including the structure of the ownership system, industrial composition, technological organization, employment structure, structure of locality development, training of personnel, and so forth, all must be diversified, must possess the characteristic of having many layers, and must avoid being simple or stereotyped. 4) We must establish the viewpoint of opening up to the outside. We must, based principally on self-reliance and regeneration, fully and effectively utilize foreign technology, foreign capital, resources, and markets, actively promote international economic and technological intercourse, and facilitate the development of internal modernization construction. 5) We must establish the viewpoint of simultaneously grasping the two forms of civilization. In the course of developing socialist modernization, we must on the one hand strive to strengthen the development of material civilization and, on the other hand, pay close attention to the development of socialist spiritual civilization. We must make them suit each other and help each other to progress.

Second, our country's planning system must be reformed in accordance with the national condition of our country. We must enforce the principle of taking planned economy as the leading factor and regulation by market mechanism as supplementary. With an overall balance of the national economy and regulation by market mechanism playing a supplementary role, the state must ensure the proportionate and coordinated development of the national economy. Our system of planned management must be suited to the objective demands for the coexistence of diverse economic forms and the development of commodity production. It not only must obey and utilize the basic economic laws of

socialism, as well as the laws of planned development and laws of distribution according to work, but also must consciously make use of the law of value and fully display the active role of the relations between commodity and money. It must energetically promote the development of socialist commodity production and commodity exchange. At the same time, it must correctly display the concrete demands, under socialist conditions, of commodity relations of various scopes and various economic contents and make a distinction, conforming to the varying conditions, in the application of the diversified forms of control, including mandatory planning, guidance planning, and regulation by market mechanism. Along with the use of administrative methods, it must also resort to economic methods and legal methods. The relations between the state and the enterprises must be handled correctly. The situation in which enterprises all "eat from the same big pot" must be eliminated. Under different conditions, a careful distinction must be made in the application of diversified forms of the profit and loss responsibility system, or the system of conditional assumption of sole responsibility for profits or losses and that of full assumption of sole responsibility for profits or losses. The relations between departments and regions at different levels must be handled correctly. On the one hand, control by administrative region control and locality must be allowed to display their respective strong points, and the role of central cities and towns must be brought into full play; on the other hand, the drawbacks of a demarcation between departments must be avoided and the development of a socialist unified market must be facilitated. In short, in our country, the planning system must handle well the relations between centralization and decentralization, between unification and independence, and between planning and flexibility. This will enable us to fully arouse the enthusiasm of the departments, localities, enterprises, and workers, and to scientifically organize them for the purpose of facilitating the unification and coordination of the national economy and enabling it to progress in a lively manner.

Finally, our planning system and planning methods must also be correspondingly reformed and improved. Over the past 30 years, we have performed some work in developing a planning system and perfecting the planning methods, but generally the work done was extremely insufficient. During the 10 years of disturbances, some of the more rational systems and methods were discarded or ruined. But following the new development in the economic situation over the past few years, methods which were once somewhat effective have become increasingly inadequate in the changed conditions. Hence, another important lesson before us is how to make an overall summary of the historical experiences, free ourselves from the shackles of those traditional ideas not in conformity with reality, dismantle those irrational old systems and old methods, and in accordance with the new conditions, develop a scientific planning system and planning methods. We must closely unite long-range plans and medium-range plans with the annual plans, and in planning work shift the stress to long-range and medium-range plans. In planning, we must organically link together scientific development, economic development and social development, and fully reflect the promotional role of scientific and technological progress in economic and social development. We must bring about a rational coordination between production and construction and population growth, utilization of resources, and environmental protection.

We must make our planning projects and measures instrumental not only in facilitating the development of material production, but also in effecting population control, practicing economy in the use of resources, and in environmental protection. We must do a good job in linking together the overall plans and plans for special projects for development of the national economy and also the plans of industries and trades with plans of the localities. This will make the various plans well-balanced and linked to form a complete whole, the parts of which are mutually related and mutually easier. In the planning targets, the principle of centering on improvement of the economic results should be manifested, and we should emphasize value targets, while quality targets and targets reflecting economic benefits should also be added. We should strengthen the work on achieving an overall balance and perfect the system of balancing sums. In planning work, we should increase the use of modern methods, such as applied input and output and employment of electronic computers. We should develop and perfect the system of economic forecasting and information and strengthen such basic work as the quota system, parameterizing, and statistics.

Obviously, in order to make our planned management and science of planned economy progress along the above-mentioned lines, it is necessary to carry out meticulous investigation and research and systematically study, analyze, explain, and solve many theoretical and practical problems. In the course of our work, we must firmly insist on taking the basic theories of Marxism as guidance, but we must avoid a doctrinaire attitude in considering these theories. We should, in a humble manner, learn the beneficial experiences of foreign countries, but we should by no means copy or adopt foreign methods on a wholesale basis. We must respect history and insist on adopting all effective principles and methods, but must also be bold enough to break through the shackles of outmoded ideas and rules which do not conform with reality or which are really outdated. Only in this way is it possible to link the universal principles of Marxism with the realities of our country and to follow on a road of our own system of planned management and develop a science of socialist planned economy with Chinese characteristics.

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## RUN COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISES IN CITIES AND TOWNS BY TAKING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLLECTIVE ECONOMY INTO CONSIDERATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 84 pp 31-35

[Article by Sun Dejun [4327 1795 0689] and Gong Faxin [6300 4099 0207]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our urban collective economy has entered a new period of development. In order to consolidate and develop our urban collective economy and give full play to its positive role, we must further relax our policies toward and enliven our collective enterprises, do a good job of consolidation and reform, and earnestly and satisfactorily run our urban collective enterprises in accordance with the nature and characteristics of the collective economy.

### 1. We Should Persist in Allowing Diverse Forms of Collective Ownership of Means of Production and Diverse Forms of Organization

Urban collective enterprises are socialist economic organizations in which, within a certain scope, the masses of laboring people collectively own the means of production, jointly conduct the labor, and distribute the income according to labor. The most important principle in running our collective enterprises satisfactorily is to adhere to and safeguard the collective ownership of the means of production in the enterprises and ensure the long-term stability and continuous development of the collective economy. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "As the level of the development of the productive force in our country is, generally speaking, relatively low and very uneven, it is necessary for many kinds of economic forms to coexist for a very long time." "At present, our urban handicraft undertakings, industries, construction, transportation, and commercial undertakings, and service trades should not and cannot be run solely by our state-owned economic sector and a fairly great part of these undertakings should be run by collectives." This exposition entirely conforms to our country's reality. In our country, adopting the structure of ownership whereby the state-owned economic sector occupies the dominant position and many economic forms are allowed to coexist for a long time is a long-term strategic policy decision, not a makeshift policy. Ours is an economically less developed country where the level of the development of the productive force is not only relatively low but also uneven. In these circumstances, only by proceeding from reality and establishing ownership by the

whole people where ownership by the whole people should be established and developing collective ownership where collective ownership should be established can we make our productive force develop more quickly. If we disregard the actual level of the development of our productive force and allow ownership by the whole people only to exist, we will certainly undermine our productive force. Both the positive and negative experiences that we have gained in the problem related to ownership since the founding of the PRC have proved this fact. We all see that in the process of modernizing a country with such a weak economic foundation as ours, we should not only vigorously develop automatic and mechanized production but should also inevitably preserve and develop for a long time diverse forms of manual production; we should not only give play to the role of large and medium-sized backbone enterprises, but also develop small enterprises; and we should not only continuously raise the technological level and degree of technological intensity in the production of our various enterprises, but should also consider the problem related to the employment of laborers and develop enterprises characterized by intensive labor. All the above-mentioned factors require us to develop in a planned manner our urban collective economy in order to make full use of our country's labor resources, organize and mobilize in a widespread manner the forces of various sectors to take part in the four modernizations and promote the rapid development of our national economy.

Developing urban collective economy is the objective demand resulting from the need to make our urban and rural economy prosperous, satisfy our people's needs and provide convenience for the livelihood of the masses of the people. Urban collective economy, including collective industry, communications and transport industry, commerce and service trade, shoulders the tasks of satisfying the diversified demands of the society and playing many aspects of the role that the state-owned economic sector cannot play. It produces tens of thousands of industrial products of daily use and small commodities that everybody and every family needs and cannot dispense with and that are closely related to our industrial and agricultural production and people's livelihood. Our urban collective economy is characterized by its vast number of units, wide scope of business, flexible management, small investment, quick achievement of economic results, and employment of vast number of laborers. Therefore, it plays an important role in opening up broad prospects for the development of production, enlivening our economy, providing more job opportunities, increasing our exports, and accumulating funds. Its development does not mainly rely on state investments but on the force of the masses of people and the funds accumulated by the collectives. That is why the existence and development of urban collective economy is objectively necessary.

In the process of probing into economic structural reform, some comrades hold that we should turn our old collective enterprises into enterprises owned by the whole people, and some areas and organizations indiscriminately practice equalitarianism and transfer resources between collective enterprises. In the past, under the influence of the "leftist" ideology, we did not consider the actual situation of the development of the productive force and wantonly "upgraded and transformed" collective enterprises into

enterprises owned by the whole people. This seriously undermined the urban collective economy. Now, the conditions for the development of our collective economy have remained unchanged, therefore, we should continue to pay great attention to developing the collective economy. We should remember well our historical lessons and avoid repeating our previous mistakes.

Because our country's productive force is underdeveloped and unevenly developed, we should not only pay great attention to developing our urban collective economy, but should also refrain from seeking uniformity of the concrete organizational forms in a certain kind of ownership. The conditions of productive forces vary in thousands of ways in the collective enterprises in different areas and trades. Some of them are of a relatively high degree of mechanization and automation and others are mainly operated by manual labor; some of them are old collective enterprises with many years of history, while others have just been set up recently; and these enterprises' sources of funds also differ. In order to adapt them to these conditions, we should allow different forms of organization. These different forms of organization reflect in essence the difference in the degree of collective ownership of the means of production. Thus there are production cooperative groups, production cooperatives and other small collective enterprises of similar categories as well as cooperative factories, i.e., factories set up by localities or departments with the accumulated funds of the collective economy and with a relatively high degree of collectivization. Some comrades hold that only the small collective enterprises that were set up in the period of collectivization are genuinely collective economy and that the cooperative factories should retrogress and be turned into "small collective" production cooperatives. We think that the ownership of the means of production in our cooperative factories is a collective ownership of a greater scope. Though these enterprises differ widely from other collective enterprises in the degree of the public nature of their ownership and in their technological level, there has been no change in the nature of the ownership and in their technological level, there has been no change in the nature of the ownership in these factories. The problem now is that we should confirm their collective economy nature, really carry out reforms in them in accordance with the characteristics and requirements of the collective economy and continue to run them satisfactorily.

## 2. We Should Persist in Regarding Them as Independent Accounting Units and Make Them Solely Responsible for Their Profits and Losses

Our urban collective enterprises must adhere to the principle of operating as independent accounting units and being solely responsible for their profits and losses. In the 1950's and 1960's, our handicraft cooperative organizations always persisted in operating as independent accounting units and being solely responsible for their profits and losses. They retained most of their after-tax profits and the combined cooperatives at the upper level and the responsible departments only collected from them small amounts of cooperative undertaking funds. At that time, these enterprises showed concern for their production, improved their management, had high initiative and achieved good economic results. Later, some cooperatives were merged into cooperative factories, in which the method of a head office centralizing all the

accounting, being responsible for all the profits and losses, and collecting all the income and paying all the expense was adopted. As a result, an enterprise had to pay all its income to the head office and all its expenses were disbursed by the head office. Thus an enterprise enjoyed no economic benefits if it was satisfactorily run and earned great profits. On the other hand it also shouldered no economic responsibility if it was poorly managed or even suffered losses. This cut the linkage between the results of the enterprise's management and the income of its staff and workers. Therefore, our enterprises lost their initiative in conducting their management, their initiative in developing production was injured, their egalitarian tendency of "eating out of the same big pot" worsened and their development of production and increase in economic results was hindered. That is why we must restore the practice of collective enterprises being independent accounting units and being solely responsible for their profits and losses. This is a principle that has been formulated in accordance with the basic requirement of running collective enterprises in accordance with the characteristics of the collective economy. Our collective enterprises are entirely responsible for their own profits and losses on the basis of the collective ownership of their means of production. After paying taxes according to the law of taxation and paying administrative charges to the responsible departments, a collective enterprise retains at its disposal all that is left of its profits, which it can transfer to its general reserves and provisions or spend to raise the income of its staff and workers and improve their collective welfare. An enterprise also shoulders the responsibility for all its losses.

As for how to make our enterprises operate as independent accounting units that shoulder the sole responsibility for their profits and losses, some areas have developed many methods and gained lots of experience: 1) We should correctly fix the proportion that the enterprises can retain of their after-tax profits. After the enterprises have paid their income taxes, generally, they can retain, in accordance with the principle of "letting the enterprises retain more profits and deliver less of their profits," 75 percent of their after-tax profits and deliver 25 percent of the profits into cooperative undertaking funds. In a small number of areas, for example, in Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai, we make the enterprises retain less and deliver more profits in the light of the concrete conditions there. 2) The economic accounting work of the enterprises should be combined with the work of costing that is carried out with their workshops, groups, and teams as cost centers and thus we will solve the problems of "eating out of the same big pot" between the various workshops, groups, and teams in our enterprises. 3) We should allow our enterprises to enjoy full decisionmaking powers for their administration and management so that our enterprises not only shoulder the economic responsibility but also enjoy the proper rights to carry out their production and management. Thus, we link their responsibility with their powers and interests. 4) We should correctly handle relations between the state, the collective, and the individual. We should gradually improve the livelihood of the staff and workers on the basis of developing production and increasing the income of the enterprises, but we should oppose the mal-practice of distributing and consuming any income that the enterprises have earned. 5) We should correctly solve the problem related to the title and power of use over the fixed assets of our enterprises. In the past, if the

upper-level integrated cooperatives (or departments in charge) invested money for the establishment of some enterprises, the fixed assets of these enterprises continued to belong to the integrated cooperatives and the enterprises only enjoy the right to use the fixed assets, for which they had to pay certain rents. This continues to be a feasible method now.

### 3. We Should Adhere to the Principle of From Each According to His Ability and to Each According to His Labor

Our urban collective economic sector must conscientiously implement, in the light of reality, the principle of distribution according to labor and enable their labor remuneration to really reflect disparity in labor. The wages of our state-owned enterprises constitute a part of the expenditure of the state while the wages of our collective enterprises come from the income earned by the production operation of the enterprises. The wages of the staff and workers and the income all depend on the development of production and the increase of the accumulation in their enterprises. Therefore, they are more directly linked with the results of the management of these enterprises. If a collective enterprise is satisfactorily managed and has much accumulation of funds, its staff and workers ought to get more remuneration, but if the reverse is the case, the staff and workers should get less remuneration. Moreover, we should allow different wage systems for different professions, enterprises, and jobs as far as these systems are suited to them. Only by so doing can we make our staff and workers be concerned for the management results of their enterprises out of the consideration of their material interests and can we give full play to their initiative.

Implementing the all-round management responsibility system in our urban collective enterprises and thus closely linking their responsibility, power, and interests is of great significance for the implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor and for the overcoming of egalitarianism. The implementation of the all-round responsibility system in our collective enterprises is mainly aimed at solving the problems concerning economic relations inside the enterprises and between the enterprises and the departments in charge. Roughly, there are two kinds of practices: The first is that the enterprises undertake all-round responsibility from the departments in charge. This is also called external assignment of all-round responsibility. The terms of responsibility include responsibility for output value, output, profits, and other targets. For some enterprises, the terms include responsibility for the delivery of cooperative undertaking funds and the payment of administrative expenses. Those enterprises that fulfill the terms of the responsibility contracts will be rewarded and those that fail to do so will be punished. The second is the internal all-round responsibility system, whereby all-round responsibility is undertaken level by level by individuals, groups, and workshops from the enterprises and some special responsibility should be undertaken by specialized personnel. The internal all-round responsibility generally links output and interests, and the distribution of income under such responsibility contracts is usually a proportional distribution or a sharing of bonuses for exceeding quotas. Facts have proved that by so doing the responsibility of our staff and workers is clearly defined and their income is closely linked with the

management results of the enterprises, thus we can greatly heighten the initiative of our staff and workers, increase the impetus, stimulus, and vitality of our enterprises and promote the development of production. Because of the satisfactory implementation of the all-round responsibility system, the collective enterprises in Liaoning, Hunan, Henan, and other areas greatly increased their production and a fine situation of increases in output, sales, and profits and decreases in losses has emerged in these enterprises. As the production of some collective enterprises is not included in state plans, there is no normal channel for the supply of raw materials to these enterprises. Other collective enterprises' production fluctuates, as there are busy and idle seasons for them in a year. Therefore, the wages and bonuses for the staff and workers in these enterprises cannot be fixed so rigidly as those in our state-run enterprises. We should allow monthly fluctuations in their wages and bonuses and take a year as the base period for the calculation of their income. The bonuses in our collective enterprises can be linked with the management results of these enterprises and rise as the results improve. However, there should also be a limit to them and we can consider the question of whether we should allocate a certain amount of the income of the enterprises as social insurance funds. By so doing, we can not only restrict the excessive bonus payments when the enterprises earn great profits, but also can guarantee the livelihood of their workers and staff when the enterprises earn little profits or even suffer losses.

Paying year-end bonuses is an important characteristic of our urban collective enterprises. Bonus payments for labor differs from share dividends and is a supplementary form of wage payments. In essence, it is a payment to laborers for a part of the necessary labor they have created throughout the year in the form of year-end bonuses. The system of bonus payment for labor was implemented in our handicraft collective economy as far back as in 1956, but was forcibly abolished during the 10 years of turmoil. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, this system has gradually been restored. Our practice has shown that the implementation of this system in our collective industrial enterprises not only will not increase the financial expenditure of the state, but will also strengthen the ties between the staff and workers and their enterprises, heighten the staff's and workers' sense of mastery and urge the masses of staff and workers to think of ways and make efforts to satisfactorily run their enterprises. This is beneficial to the state, the collective and the individual.

#### 4. Production Management Methods Should Be Flexible and Diversified

Regarding the planned economy as the core and supplementing it with regulation by the market mechanism is an important guiding principle for our national economy. Our urban collective industrial sector is mainly engaged in producing consumer goods and a fairly large part of its products is allocated by the state for the whole nation. Thus these enterprises have relatively great impact on the improvement of the people's livelihood and the increase of our financial revenues. Therefore, the production and management activities of these enterprises should be included in the plans in order that they can be arranged in the manner of taking all factors into

consideration. However, as there are tens of thousands of products including both large and small commodities produced by our collective enterprises, it is impossible for the state plan to include each and every one of them. This is particularly the case for some of the small commodities, which are of large variety, small batches in production, constantly changing types, and a strong local nature. Therefore, we should adopt the principle of combining planning and flexibility, administer their production level by level and rationally arrange their production. Except for the products vital to the state plans and people's livelihood, the products allocated by the state, major export products, products that people of minority nationalities specially need, and the materials and goods needed in our capital construction which should be included in the state plans and the plans of state departments, all other products should be included in local plans of various levels. The major form of plan is the guidance plan and only a very small number of products are included in mandatory plans. As for the production of the products produced and sold in local areas and the processing of goods for commercial departments, we can adopt the method that the industrial and commercial sectors make joint arrangements every year, periodically match their plans of production and marketing and sign production and sales contracts. As for the products that are of a strong local and seasonal nature, for which the social demand changes quickly, the production and sales of which is relatively dispersed, and which are mostly small commodities, we should put their production under the guidance of the state plans, give full play to regulation by the market mechanism and allow the enterprises to flexibly arrange their production in the light of changes in the market situation.

Urban collective enterprises need large quantities of raw materials of various kinds. Some of the raw materials are allocated by the state in a centralized manner and others are materials and goods of the third category. Therefore, the supply of these materials and goods cannot be undertaken entirely by the state and must be provided through diverse channels. Some of the raw materials should be allocated by the state and local governments in a planned manner, others can be supplied through special arrangement by long-term fixed contracts, still others can be supplied through contracting for the processing of the raw materials with commercial or foreign trade departments or through mutual cooperation in purchasing the surplus raw materials of other enterprises in accordance with the stipulations of state policies. As for materials and goods of the third category and the materials and goods of the second category that enter the market, in addition to the supply from the relevant departments, the departments in charge can exchange products for raw materials and so make direct purchases in the places of production.

At present, the structure of consumer goods production does not meet the demands resulting from the changes in the actual mix of the goods consumed. This is a prominent contradiction. Our urban collective industrial enterprises should always make investigations and study the changes in the mix of the goods consumed, strengthen their market forecasts, master economic information, do a good job of making policy decisions on their management and thus augment their capacity for coping with changes in situation. They should also promptly readjust their product mix, improve the quality of their products, develop marketable products and maintain and develop diverse forms

of flexible management methods in order to meet the diverse consumption demands of the people.

##### 5. Adhere to Democratic Management

Carrying out democratic management in our collective enterprises and letting them enjoy adequate decisionmaking powers is a practice determined by the nature and characteristics of collective ownership. In a collective enterprise, the means of production is the property of the collective and the staff and workers there have dual status: They are both the direct laborers and the owners of the enterprise. This determines the democratic nature of the collective enterprise in its administration and management.

There has been a fine tradition of democratic management in our urban collective industrial enterprises. As far back as during the period of the cooperation drive in our handicraft industry, democratic management system was gradually established. For example, the periodic holding of cooperative member conventions or cooperative member congresses to discuss and decide major issues of the enterprises; the democratic election of boards of directors and committees of inspectors as the standing organs of the cooperative member congresses between sessions of the congresses to organize and direct the production and management activities of the enterprises; the establishment of integrated mass organizations from the bottom up at various levels and the democratic election of the leading cadres at various levels; and so on. These forms and contents of democratic management constitute an important embodiment of the collective economy and play a positive role in satisfactorily running our collective enterprises and consolidating and developing the collective economy. Now, the personnel structure of our collective enterprises and the scale of them have undergone great changes, therefore, we cannot be sure that it is appropriate to copy the methods that we used in the 1950's. However, we must carry on the above-mentioned tradition of democratic management. As for the forms of democratic management that we must adopt now, we should bravely probe into them in our practice. Facts have proved that once a democratic management system is set up so that the enterprise cadres are elected democratically instead of assigned by the upper levels, we will make the internal relations of production in our enterprises more perfect and urge our productive force to develop even more quickly.

Since the means of production of our collective enterprises is owned by the collective, our collective enterprises must have greater decisionmaking powers than the state-run enterprises. The constitution of our country stipulates that "under the precondition of submitting to the state's unified leadership and fulfilling in an all-round manner the state plans, the state-run enterprises have the decisionmaking power in their administration and management within the scope provided by our law," and that "under the precondition of accepting the guidance of the state plans and abiding by the relevant laws, collective enterprises have the decisionmaking power in carrying out independently their economic activities." The state-run enterprises "implement democratic management through staff and workers congresses or in other forms," while in the collective enterprises, "the administrative personnel are elected and dismissed and the major problems on administration and

management decided by all the laborers." It is thus clear that the decision-making power of our collective enterprises must be much greater than that of the state-run enterprises, the staff and workers must have their direct power in making policy, the enterprises enjoy title over their property as well as the right of administration and management and that of appointing and dismissing their personnel. Within the scope permitted by state laws, policies, and plans, collective enterprises may flexibly arrange their production and carry out their management activities, allocate and use by themselves the enterprises' means of production and their own funds, purchase the raw materials and sell their products, and purchase and rent their fixed assets; may advertise for and employ their staff and workers in accordance with their needs and make decisions on rewards and punishment, and dismissal or discharge of their staff and workers. It is mainly through the planned guidance and the economic levers such as credits, taxation, and prices that the state controls the production and management activities of our collective enterprises. The state will not only bear no economic responsibility for the profits and losses of our collective enterprises, but are also unable to allocate, transfer, or take over the means of production and economic profits of our collective enterprises without compensation. The propriety rights and decisionmaking powers of our collective enterprises must be safeguarded. We should resolutely put an end to all those malpractices of seeking excuses, concocting various pretexts, and adopting various methods in order to achieve equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources, to divert, apportion, and embezzle the capital and goods of our collective enterprises and in order to take over the enterprises and to wantonly encroach on the legal rights, interests and decisionmaking powers of our collective enterprises in their administration and management.

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GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE 35 YEARS  
FOLLOWING THE FOUNDING OF THE PRC

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[Statistical data from the State Statistical Bureau]

[Text] Editor's note: This year is the 35th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. And this magazine will constantly carry statistical data on the great achievements made in economic and social development since the founding of the PRC.

Growth of Social Gross Output Value and National Revenues

	<u>Unit</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>Multiple figure for 1983 against 1949</u>	<u>Percentage for 1983 against 1978</u>
Social gross output value	Hundred million yuan	557	6,846	11,052	19.9-fold	148.1
Gross industrial and agricultural output value	Hundred million yuan	466	5,634	9,209	20.2-fold	146.1
Gross agricultural output value	Hundred million yuan	326	1,567	3,121	5.0-fold	146.3
Gross industrial output value	Hundred million yuan	140	4,067	6,088	57.3-fold	146.1
Light industrial output value	Hundred million yuan	103	1,753	2,954	35.4-fold	170.1
Heavy industrial output value	Hundred million yuan	37	2,314	3,134	117.7-fold	128.4
National revenues	Hundred million yuan	358	3,010	4,673	10.9-fold	141.1

(Note: The absolute figures of this list are calculated on the price of that year and the pace of the growth is calculated on the basis of comparable prices)

The Growth of the Output of Major Industrial and Agricultural Products

	<u>Unit</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>Multiple figure for 1983 against 1949</u>	<u>Percentage for 1983 against 1978</u>
Steel	10,000 tons	15.8	3,178	4,002	253-fold	125.9
Raw coal	Hundred million tons	0.32	6.18	7.15	22.3-fold	115.7
Electric generating capacity	Hundred million kilowatt hours	43	2,566	3,514	81.7-fold	136.9
Crude oil	10,000 tons	12	10,405	10,607	884-fold	101.9
Grain	10,000 tons	11,318	30,477	38,728	3.4-fold	127.1
Cotton	10,000 tons	44.4	216.7	463.7	10.4-fold	214.0
Edible oil	10,000 tons	256.4	521.8	1055.0	4.1-fold	202.2

Total Investments in Fixed Assets

(Units with the ownership by the whole people)

	<u>Total figure for 1950-1983</u>	<u>Of which, the total figure for 1979-1983</u>
Total investments in fixed assets (hundred million yuan)	11,634	3,910
Total investments in capital construction (hundred million yuan)	8,969	2,675
Renewing and reforming measures (hundred million yuan)	2,665	1,235
New fixed assets in capital construction (hundred million yuan)	6,440	2,130
Big and medium projects that have been completed and put into production (unit)	3,817	496

Newly Added Productive Forces of Capital Construction

(Units with the ownership by the whole people)

Total figure for 1950-1983

Coal exploitation	507 million tons
Steel smelting	35.53 million tons
Crude oil exploitation	144.58 million tons
Capacity of generating set	68.85 million kilowatts
Cotton textile spindles	13.17 million spindles
New railways	25,000 km

Growth Rate of Social Gross Output Value and National Revenues

(Based on 100 in 1949)

The proportion of the national revenue in social gross output value (%)

1952:	58.0	1957:	56.5	1965:	51.5	1978:	44.0	1983:	42.3		
				1949	1954	1959	1964	1969	1974	1979	1983
Social gross output value		100	250	500	400	600	950	1500	2100		
National revenue		100	200	320	300	400	600	820	1090		

The Growth of the Output of Steel, Coal, Grain and Cotton

	<u>1949</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1983</u>
Steel (million tons)	.16	31.78	40.02
Raw coal (million tons)	32	618	715
Grain (million tons)	113.18	304.77	387.28
Cotton (million tons)	.444	2.167	4.637

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## A TALK BEGINNING WITH KANT'S 'FAMOUS REMARK'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 84 pp 38-41

[Article by Xu Jianyi [1776 1696 0001]]

[Text] In the debate on the question of humanism and alienation, some comrades wrote articles to discuss the value of man in the socialist society. One such article began by telling us that Kant made a famous remark that "man is the purpose, not the means," and applied it to our actual life as "a profound philosophy."

Here we must make one thing clear. Is the saying "man is the purpose, not the means" really Kant's "famous remark"? Is it really his idea? I do not think so, because it does not tally with historical facts. Kant was the founder of classical German philosophy. He was an advocate of dualism and agnosticism. At the same time, his philosophy contained the rational elements of materialism and dialectics. Although his ethics took a priori moral principles as the starting point, it also contained the rational elements of opposition to feudalism. These salient features of Kant's teachings were suited to the dual character of the German bourgeoisie at that time. The stoic philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome advanced similar views. Their philosophy was: Man is a rational animal and rationality endowed man with a perfect nature; hence, living in a way that conforms with man's nature is morality. In other words, man only needs to take one's own being as the purpose and keep oneself from being instigated by others to be moral. Kant's theory of "man is the purpose" was similar to that of the stoics. He also held that man was a rational animal whose existence had absolute value, and all that man needed to do to be of value was to take oneself as the purpose rather than merely the means. It is obviously idealistic to say that man should be taken as the purpose, because man is born with a perfect nature and is of absolute value. However, what Kant meant by "man is the purpose" is that man is man and should not be regarded as a "thing." Because man "should be respected, all arbitrary treatment of man should be subject to some kind of limitation." ("A Study of Moral Metaphysics," p 43) Thus, he proposed building a "realm of purpose" as a struggle against the irrational phenomena in his society. This is no doubt a progressive move aimed at fighting feudalism. In Germany in those days, the masses of laboring people were mercilessly exploited by the reactionary Prussian feudal dynasty. Even the rising German bourgeoisie

was politically powerless and suppressed despite its growing economic strength. Kant's principle of "man is the purpose" reflected the desire of the rising German bourgeoisie to resist feudal Prussian rule.

In spite of this, Kant did not say that man was merely the purpose and not the means. All he said was that man was the purpose and should not be regarded as merely the means. Although Kant's dialectics was rather poor, on this question he did not think that purpose and means were diametrically opposed. He believed that "people who aspire after this purpose will also aspire after its means." He also said without mincing words that through the "realm of purpose," he wanted to "establish a relationship between purpose and means between man." (Ibid., pp 33, 48) Although the concepts of "purpose" and "means" varied in some of Kant's writings, in terms of method, he held that the means and the purpose were always identical because the means was a natural part of the purpose. He pointed out: "In this kind of natural product, everything is the purpose and everything is in turn the means." ("Critique of Judgment," cited from "A Study of Kant's Philosophy," p 61) Hegel, explaining the meaning of Kant's remark, pointed out: In a natural product, "all constituents are the means, but they are also the purpose. It is itself the purpose and the means. It is the purpose itself. Its purpose does not lie outside of itself. The idea of internal purpose is that the object itself is the purpose as well as the means." ("A Study of Kant's Philosophy," pp 61-62) In this sense, we may assume that to Kant, man is the purpose as well as the means; man is the unity of purpose and means. We would say that the article got everything wrong at the outset by saying that "man is the purpose, not the means" is a "famous remark" of Kant's, and presenting it as "a profound philosophy."

Besides, "man is the purpose" as a principle of bourgeois ethics should not be used indiscriminately. The fundamental principle of bourgeois ethics is individualistic egoism. Its other principles are restricted by this fundamental principle to a greater or lesser extent; some are derived from this fundamental principle. Kant made this point very clear in explaining the principle of "man is the purpose." He believed that each person's will was controlled by a universal and fundamental principle. This means that "anything that is rational exists for its own purpose. Man naturally thinks that this is what existence means. In this context, this fundamental principle is a subjective principle that controls man's actions." ("A Study of Moral Metaphysics," p 43) That is, everyone existing for his own sake is a fundamental principle that controls man's actions. It is precisely because everyone takes himself as the purpose that "you must always regard man as the purpose and not merely as the means, whether it is you yourself or someone else." (Ibid., p 43) Although Kant's words contained the rational elements of altruism, his ethical concept of proceeding from "self" and "the individual" in the handling of man's interrelationship was, after all, the ideology of the exploiting class, and should not be put on par with the noble moral concept of "utter devotion to others without any thought of self" of the proletariat. In taking "existing for one's own purpose" as the fundamental principle for furthering his moral principle, Kant revealed his true features as a bourgeois man of ethics. Marx pointed out: It is the "principle of individualism" of bourgeois societies to think that one's

own existence is the ultimate purpose, and that activities, labor, substance, and such are merely the means. (See "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 345-346) This is a sharp revelation of the essence of bourgeois ethical principle of "man is the purpose."

We do not totally negate Kant's idea of "man is the purpose." That is, this idea may become a part of socialist humanism when it has been critically taken over and modified. However, it should be pointed out that what should be taken over are the rational elements of this principle, namely "man should be respected" and "man is the purpose as well as the means," and individualistic egoism should be discarded as dregs. If we do not do this and, instead, discard its only rational and dialectical element, separate the purpose from the means, and regard "man is the purpose, not the means" as "a profound philosophy," we are bound to go astray. I think that the arguments put forward by some comrades on the question of "man is the purpose" are open to discussion on the following three points:

First, they went beyond the limits of ethical principles and moral standards and took "man is the purpose" as the fundamental theory and method for studying and resolving historical and present problems. They said that all for man's own sake was the yardstick for measuring all social behaviors and ascertaining all ideological theories. In this way, they had obviously raised "man is the purpose" to the height of world outlook and concept of history. In his article "Humanism and the Question of Alienation," Comrade Hu Qiaomu began by drawing a distinction between humanism as a world outlook and concept of history, and humanism as an ethical principle and moral standard. This is a very profound idea and should be taken as our guiding ideology in order to correctly handle the principle of "man is the purpose." As an ethical principle, "man is the purpose" may be critically assimilated into Marxism, but if it is magnified into a kind of world outlook and concept of history, it becomes alien to Marxism. Any truth has its boundaries. Even the slightest move away from these boundaries will turn truth into falsehood. In the history of modern thought, people who applied the principle of "man is the purpose" without discrimination are not rare. Hermann Cohen, the representative figure of neo-Kantism, was one of them. In the face of imperialist aggression, enslavement, and brutality at the turn of this century, he applied Kant's principle of "man is the purpose" to criticize monopoly capitalism. However, he also tried to establish his own ethical socialism on the basis of "man is the purpose." He criticized the Marxist concept of the history of society as one-sided, saying that it talked about the economy and did not pay attention to ethical principles. To Cohen, moral principles alone were the true principles of social development. Thus, the foundation of socialism is "moral idealism," not "economic idealism." He said: We should "remove materialism from the foundation of socialism." "As long as socialism is founded on the basis of ethical idealism, it is correct." ("The Foundation of Kant's Ethics," quoted from "Modern Western Philosophy," p 133) Thus, the neo-Kantists regarded Kant as the "great grandfather" of socialism. To them, since socialism could only be achieved by taking the road of moral self-perfection, there was no need to carry out socialist revolution. All that needed to be done was to make everyone believe in the moral principle of "man is the purpose." The

neo-Kantists openly declared that they had "proved the rationality of their reformist ideas by accepting Kant's moral principles." (From "Modern Western Philosophy," p 134) In this way, they revealed their true features as bourgeois reformists.

Some comrades took "man is the purpose" as the yardstick of historical appraisal. They saw the history of class society as an inhuman history in which man had lost his purpose. They held that it was only in a communist society that man's purpose could truly be realized. This idea is not in accord with Marxism. Actually, it is not true that "man is the purpose" became void and was totally negated once man entered the class society. Man is concrete, not abstract. It is not true that in a class society, only people of the exploiting class who were in a ruling position were the purpose, and the rest of the people were not, and that the masses of exploited and oppressed laborers were merely regarded as the means and used as such. In appraising the history of a class society in which the minority of the people were the purpose and the majority were the means, it is not at all elucidating to use "man is the purpose" as the yardstick. The Marxists discarded this kind of idealist method of appraising history. On the basis of the theory of the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, they took man's entry into the class society as the beginning of the history of human civilization and saw the development toward a class society and the realization of communism as the natural outcome of the development of the productive forces. We must not depart from the development of history and see "man is the purpose" as something alien to history. Even in present-day socialist societies, we must not proceed from the concept of "man is the purpose" and raise demands that are in fact unattainable at a given stage of socialism. Our present level of the productive forces is not very high and our solutions to many problems are far from satisfactory. If we grumble and say that "man is the purpose" has been overlooked just because our personal desires are not satisfied for the time being, we appear to be suggesting that all problems can be readily solved if everyone believes in "man is the purpose." The view and method of observing problems run counter to Marxist historical materialism and cannot solve practical problems.

Second, they separated man as the purpose from man as the means, as if suggesting that from now on, people of socialist societies would only exist as the purpose and not as the means. Actually, in a society, it is only by relying on man that the principle of man is the purpose can be realized. It cannot happen by itself. If everyone is the purpose, then everyone is also the means to achieving his own purpose. This is quite obvious. The socialist society has merely changed the unreasonable phenomenon in which only some people were the purpose and the masses of the laborers were the means. It regards man as laborer and as the sole beneficiary of his own labor. Rather than separating purpose from means, socialism has unified the two on the basis of new productive forces and relations of production. As Comrade Hu Qiaomu pointed out, "ideas which separate purpose from means and regard the two as conflicting are simply not the point of view of materialist dialectics."

Some comrades also held that there practices still exist which hindered man from attaining his purpose in a socialist society, because to a large extent the laborers were unable to decide what to do with their own products of labor. What, may I ask, is meant by the laborers not being able to decide what to do with their own products of labor? If it means that the products of labor do not belong to the laborers, it can only be a mistake in one's understanding of the socialist system. The socialist system practices the principle of to each according to his work, under which the products of labor belong to the laborers. Of course, the products of labor cannot be distributed to the laborers totally and all at once. Some deductions have to be made by society. However, the deducted quantities of the products of labor, which are taken from the people, are used in the interests of the people. In the final analysis, these products belong to the laborers. If it means that the laborers cannot dispose of their own products as they please, then it is only something natural under the conditions of modern large-scale industrial production. The socialist economy is a complicated and interrelated system. It cannot go on without planning. If the laborers of different trades and enterprises are left to take their own course and dispose of their products as they please, the socialist planned economy will fall apart. If this is how we expect "man is the purpose" to be realized in the socialist society, it will be quite unthinkable.

Third, they reduced "man is the purpose" to the purpose of individuals, thinking that if man's purpose in actual social activities was guided toward the abstract idea of the collective man--"classes, the collective, 'the people, and society, and the state," the concrete idea of man would be lost. It is true that the principle of man is the purpose was totally negated under the influence of "leftist" ideas in the past. That was a kind of one-sidedness. However, if we do not talk about the purpose of the collective, the people, the society, and the state just because we emphasize that individuals are the purpose, we will slip into another kind of one-sidedness. According to the Marxist viewpoint, individuals cannot be separated from the collective, the people, the society, and the state. When separated from these, an isolated individual has no way of existing, to say nothing of achieving his purpose. We do not deny that individuals are the purpose. We only think that we must emphasize that the collective, the people, the society, and the state are the purpose before we can talk about achieving the idea that individuals living within these are the purpose. In our socialist society today, the purpose of individuals and the purpose of the collective, the people, the society, and the state are basically identical. The degree of their realization was directly proportional to each other. Infringement of the purpose of the collective, the people, the society, and the state also means an infringement of the purpose of individuals. On the contrary, if the purpose of the former is realized, the purpose of individuals will also be realized. Of course, this kind of identity does not preclude contradictions between them. The advanced individuals will not hesitate to give up their own purpose, even their own lives, for the interests of the people, the prosperity of the country, and the development of society. To the individuals, the minimum moral requirement in the event of a contradiction between the two is that they should not take the people as their means and achieve their personal purpose by infringing upon the interests of the state and the society.

Because there is an inseparable relationship between the individuals on the one hand and the collective, the people, the society, and the state on the other, it will not work to simply consider individuals as the means for achieving individual purposes. In a socialist society, it is only when individuals serve each other as the purpose and means that the principle of man is the purpose can ultimately be realized. Not all our labor is directly for our own enjoyment. My labor may serve you, yours may serve him, and his may serve me. On the surface, it seems that each of us is merely serving as the means of others and helping others achieve their purpose. Actually, it is only through serving as the means of others that we can achieve our own purpose. In other words, it is only when we are serving as the means of others that our dignity and honor will be recognized by society, and it is only in this way that our own purpose can be achieved. If no one is willing to serve as the means of others, there is no way that we can talk about the purpose of man. Thus, any attempt to publicize "man is the purpose" in abstract terms without taking the needs of the collective, the people, the society, and the state into consideration will cause people to fall into ultra-individualism in their thinking. This is not only harmful to the collective, the people, the society, and the state, but is harmful to individuals.

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GUIDANCE MATERIAL ON STUDYING THE DOCUMENTS OF THE 2D PLENARY SESSION OF THE  
12TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE--EDITED BY THE RED FLAG THEORETICAL EDUCATION  
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[Text] Propaganda of Marxism Should Play a Real Leading Role in Ideological Circles

(By Gao Ang [7559 2491])

Leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee pointed out at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee that the propaganda of Marxism and socialism and communism should play a real leading role in ideological circles. This represents a major principle that is related to the building of spiritual civilization and to the question of whether the whole socialist modernization program can be developed along the correct road of Marxism. The communists who are responsible for theoretical propaganda, theoretical education, and theoretical study should shoulder heavy responsibilities in this aspect.

Why is it necessary for the propaganda of Marxism to display its leading role in ideological circles? It is because Marxism represents guidance for action by the CPC and because to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought represents one of the four basic principles that should be followed by the Chinese people. It is also because Marxism represents truth and science and because it has pointed out the way for the liberation of the proletariat and all mankind and opened up broad prospects for the development of various branches of science. Without the guidance of Marxism, the cause of socialism can in no way win and the research work of various sciences will inevitably be penetrated by bourgeois ideology and be led in the wrong direction. Lenin said: "The more we follow the road of Marxist theory, the closer will we come to truth (but truth knows no bounds); and if we follow any other road, we will get nothing but chaos and errors." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 143)

As Marxism represents the truth and a scientific ideological system, the development of Marxism has consequently been followed by the struggles against the errors. In order to enable the truth to overcome the errors and make more people grasp the truth, it is imperative to step up the propaganda

of Marxism so as to expand its influence. Marxism has constantly been tested and has made constant progress in its struggles against the errors. As a result, Marxism has expanded its front, strengthened its leading position in ideological circles and promoted the development of various causes.

Chinese communists are firm Marxists. The CPC has always paid attention to displaying the leading role of the propaganda of Marxism. When efforts are being made today to create a new situation for the realization of the socialist modernization program, it is even more imperative to pay attention to this propaganda so that we will be able to build the socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as the core and guarantee that the modernization program will be carried out along the right path. But in the previous period and because of various reasons, some comrades in the ideological front have given up this responsibility. For example, they did not analyze and criticize certain bourgeois ideological trends from the point of Marxism as these trends have emerged in China. On the contrary, they have blindly worshipped such ideology, regarded it as a new discovery and consequently propagated it. Certain things considered vulgar even by Western countries have also been imported into the country, only to create a bad influence among the masses of the people. A few newspapers and magazines have carried wrong articles, without analyzing and criticizing them. At the same time, they are not enthusiastic in propagating articles that have the correct Marxist viewpoints. Speeches with wrong viewpoints have dominated certain academic discussions and consequently there is no room for those with the correct Marxist viewpoints to air their opinions. Some comrades have expressed wrong views on certain questions of major theory and principle, but under these conditions, certain theorists have kept quiet, they did not come forth to speak straightforwardly and boldly. What is more serious, as soon as certain wrong views begin to be criticized, some will soon come out to express their sympathy with those who are being criticized while those who are doing the criticizing consequently find themselves being criticized. This situation is abnormal. And an important reason for the emergence of this situation is that some comrades have summed up their experiences and lessons during the "Great Cultural Revolution" wrongly. During the 10 turbulent years, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resorted to criticism arbitrarily. They did not have the truth. They could in no way persuade others through reason. They relied on arbitrary decisions, imperiousness, and rudeness to bully others by relying on their own influence; they left a very bad impression. That is why today some comrades still consider any criticism as representing the return of "leftist" ideology. Therefore they are fed up with and resentful at criticism. In criticizing others' wrong views, these comrades are also worried that they will make the former mistakes of oversimplifying matters; consequently they do not dare to express their views in a clear-cut stand. The deeds of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have damaged the prestige of the propaganda of Marxism and criticism. This situation can in no way be changed by abandoning the propaganda of Marxism or abolishing criticism. The right way is to restore the good tradition of the CPC in launching criticism and self-criticism and do a good job in the propaganda of Marxism straightforwardly and boldly.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has set a good example for us in this aspect. He suggested grasping the system of Mao Zedong Thought thoroughly and correctly, advocated the discussion of the question of the criterion for truth and persistence in the four basic principles and opposed bourgeois liberalism. All this is also aimed at enabling the propaganda of Marxism to display its leading role. He pointed out that some views have openly challenged Marxism and said that all Marxists must come forward and speak out. Therefore it is imperative for us to hold aloft the banner of Marxism and socialism, criticize various forms of wrong ideology and particularly those with regard to major questions of theory and principles, draw a clear-cut demarcation between Marxist views and non-Marxist views so as to display the leading role of Marxism. There are a number of questions to which Marxists cannot but reply definitely. These questions include whether men are the starting point of Marxism, whether alienation represents a common and natural phenomenon and whether it can be treated as a subject for socialist literature and art and how to sum up the historical lessons of the feudal and fascist dictatorship exercised by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and in summing up these lessons should we rely on bourgeois humanism or the sharp weapon of Marxism? With these questions, we will be able to lead people to treat history correctly, understand reality, and be firmly confident in socialism.

Practice proved that we can be highly consistent with the CPC Central Committee politically only when we are firm theoretically; weak and vague attitudes and understanding in theory will naturally make people waver politically. Therefore we cannot remain silent in the face of wrong ideology and wrong views that cannot but be criticized from the point of Marxism. But concretely speaking, in so doing, we must strictly follow the principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee; we can in no way resort to oversimplification and rudeness because in this way we will consequently make "leftist" mistakes again. The article "On the Questions of Humanism and Alienation" by Comrade Hu Qiaomu has fully relied on these principles in propagating Marxism and criticizing various forms of wrong ideology. And proceeding from the point of science and seeking truth from facts, this article has specially analyzed wrong ideology through reason and this method merits our learning from.

To let the propaganda of Marxism display its leading role in ideological circles can in no way hinder but will vigorously promote the implementation of the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." In fact, this principle is the principle of Marxism while its purpose is to promote the prosperity of socialist culture. This principle has nothing to do with bourgeois liberalism. In fact, the purpose of the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" itself includes the major contents of displaying the leading role of Marxism. We must also understand that the leading role of the principle of Marxism can only be displayed through full persuasion and reason, free discussions, and criticism and self-criticism so as to promote the development of different styles of literature and art and different schools of science. Consequently getting rid of any method that is "leftist," oversimplified, or stereotyped is demanded. Viewed from this

point, we can say that without implementing the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" we can in no way display well the leading role of the propaganda of Marxism. The view that has separated the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" from the leading role of the propaganda of Marxism or has put the former in a contradictory position with the latter, is wrong and should be clarified.

#### The "Theory of Alienation of Socialism" Is Not a Development But a Retrogression of Marxism

(By Cheng Fu [6134 1133])

In the past few years, some comrades in theoretical circles in China have propagated humanism abstractly and, at the same time, have also talked much about the so-called existence of alienation in socialist society. They said that ideological alienation, political alienation, and economic alienation have existed in China, and they have even said that the root of this alienation is the socialist system. This view in no way represents a development but a retrogression of Marxism, it represents a retrogression to the era prior to the emergence of Marxism.

The comrades who have acknowledged the existence of alienation in socialist society have declared their view in the name of studying Marxist theory and practice and therefore people can easily regard this view as representing Marxism. In fact, when we read Marxist works conscientiously, we find that while Marx used the concept of alienation before the formation of Marxism, he never said that alienation existed in socialism. And following the formation of Marxism, the concept of alienation can hardly be found in Marx' major works. It can be said that Marx created Marxism after he abandoned the theory and method of alienation. Marx took the progressive road.

Lenin explicitly expounded this point. He said: "In 1844-1847, Marx departed with Hegel and came closer to Feuerbach and from Feuerbach he marched toward historical (and dialectical) materialism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, pp 386-387) The alienation expounded by Hegel is an alienation with an absolute concept and this concept is idealism. During his early period, Marx was affected by Hegel and he considered phenomena as "the nature of alienation." From the summer of 1843 when Marx criticized the science of law and philosophy of Hegel to the spring of 1845 when the article "On the Program of Feuerbach" was yet to be written, Marx was under the influence of Feuerbach humanism. Feuerbach held that there existed an abstract and unchangeable "nature of men" which was the "nature of the kind" of men, that is, the natural property of men and that "God is the alienation of the nature of men." Feuerbach resorted to this view to explain the nature of religion and criticize religious theology. Marx shared this concept of alienation and regarded alienation as the central concept of his theory. He used alienation to study social history, analyze capitalist economic relations and finally put forth the ideology of alienation of labor or alienated labor. It is true that while at that time the

thinking of Marx already surpassed the thinking of Feuerbach, his thinking had not reached the stage of the materialist conception of history. This aspect was mainly shown in the fact that he understood the nature of men abstractly and considered all history as the history of the loss, alienation, and return of the nature of men. He held that the society that is in line with human nature is a rational society which represents communism. He considered alienation as the root of private ownership and regarded classes and states as representing the alienation of men. On matters concerning this principle, it is still impossible to draw a distinct line between this concept and the humanistic world outlook and concept of history or between this concept and utopian socialism which is based on this humanistic world outlook and concept of history. Also, this concept is not in a position to explain the historical necessity of the emergence and collapse of private ownership, classes and states, and the historical necessity of the replacement of capitalism by socialism. Consequently, this concept can in no way become the foundation of the theory of scientific socialism. After he wrote "On the Program of Feuerbach," Marx began to make deeper developments in historical materialism. He said that people could not follow Feuerbach to "consider the nature of men as a 'generic concept' and as a common nature that is innate, silent and that naturally links many people together." In fact, the "nature of men is not an innate and abstract matter of individuals. In reality, it represents the entity of all social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) Therefore Marx said: "The foothold of the new materialism is the society of mankind or socialized mankind." (Ibid., Vol 1, pp 18-19) It was substantial progress for Marx to turn from abstract men to the study of society and to find the starting point of science. In the famous "German Ideology" that was written by Marx and Engels, Marx for the first time expounded the basic principle of the materialist conception of history. During the following period, Marx studied the particular law of capitalism under the guidance of the materialist conception of history and consequently he created the theory of surplus value to turn utopian socialism to scientific socialism. After the creation of Marxism, Marx no longer considered alienation as a central concept and basic sphere. And when he referred to the concept of alienation, he used it to describe workers employed as labor in capitalist society. The contents of this alienation can be explained scientifically only after the discovery of the law of surplus value. That is to say, Marx did not use the concept of alienation in such aspects as law, theory, and method. He strictly used the concept of alienation to describe a society with class antagonism, particularly the antagonism in capitalist society. He also held that this antagonism represents a temporary and historical phenomenon.

Contrary to the road taken by Marx, comrades who advocate going back to Marx' earlier period have taken the road of retrogression. These comrades have confused the demarcation between the thinking of Marx in his early years and Marxism. In addition, their thinking is also different in principle with the thinking of Marx in his early years. When Marx said alienation exists in capitalist society, he was criticizing capitalism. But when these comrades are talking about the existence of alienation in socialist society, they are criticizing socialism. In his early period, Marx was trying to find a social system that would be in line with the nature of men, and in so

doing, he was striving to find a socialist system for the liberation of the proletariat and mankind. But these comrades have regarded the existence of passive phenomena and imperfect links in socialist society or certain mistakes in our work as representing alienation. It seemed to them that all reforms are aimed at overcoming alienation and that there is no end to alienation because, when it has been overcome, it will come again and again. In this way, the thinking of these comrades has retrogressed quite far.

This retrogression is harmful both in theory and practice. Ideologically, this retrogression creates confusion, blurs the line which divides Marxism and bourgeois humanism and shakes the people's confidence in Marxism. Politically, this retrogression spreads feelings of resentment toward socialism and communism and confuses socialism with capitalism. If the various reforms are carried out under the guidance of this view and not Marxism, these reforms will go in the wrong direction.

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'FOUR TRANSFORMATIONS' OF THE CADRE CONTINGENT AND THE STUDY OF MARXISM--  
UNDERSTANDING GAINED FROM STUDYING 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

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[Article by Wang Zhaozheng [3769 0340 6927]]

[Text] The "four transformations" of the ranks of cadres put forth by the CPC Central Committee, namely, ensuring that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, and more knowledgeable and specialized, is a unified, interrelated, and indispensable organic whole. Of the "four transformations" of cadres, becoming more revolutionary is the most important. In talking about the "four transformations" of the ranks of cadres, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Of course, becoming more revolutionary must come first before the three conditions of becoming younger in average age and more knowledgeable and specialized." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 320) Becoming more revolutionary has many aspects of which the most important and fundamental is to uphold the four basic principles with the party leadership as the core. The practical activities we are engaged in are a component part of the great communist practical activities. This means that we must establish firm belief in communism, willingly implement the party line, principles, and policies, and do our own jobs well in an active and creative way and with a sense of responsibility as the masters of the country and in the spirit of being ready to give our lives in the whole-hearted service of the people. How can this goal be attained? This requires efforts in many ways of which the persistent study and mastering of Marxist theory is very important. The workers' movement cannot spontaneously bring about a communist ideological system. The formation of the communist ideological system needs the instillation of Marxist theory. Under socialism, people cannot spontaneously acquire a communist world outlook. Only when we master Marxist theory in a systematic way and combine the fundamental tenets of Marxism with the realities in China's socialist modernization can we gradually strengthen our belief, acquire a communist world outlook, and increase our ability to analyze and solve problems. Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed: "The comrades of the whole party must be good at studying and restudying" and "what matters fundamentally is to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to strive to integrate the universal principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's drive to achieve the four modernizations." (Ibid., p 143) These earnest remarks merit pondering.

Some comrades hold the opinion that now that things have been set straight since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and we already have a correct line which was replenished and developed by the 12th National Congress and the leadership of the CPC Central Committee which has a profound understanding of Marxism, it will be quite enough for us just to implement the party line, principles, and policies as they are. Studying or not studying Marxism makes little difference. This is not an all-sided view. True, we must unwaveringly maintain the political unity of the CPC Central Committee. However, in doing so, it is far from adequate to rely exclusively on the trust of the CPC Central Committee and organizational discipline. The correct line, principles, and policies of the CPC Central Committee are the result of its persistent efforts to combine Marxism with the concrete practice in China. Without mastering the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method, we cannot grasp the essence of the party line, principles, and policies and correctly implement them, still less carry them out creatively in the light of the then local conditions. Over the last few years, being puzzled by "leftist" ideology, some comrades failed to understand the line adopted in the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and as a consequence, they had no peace in mind and hesitated to move forward to action and others acted in a way that defeated their purposes due to their failure to grasp the essence of the CPC Central Committee directives. Practice has proved that a Marxist line can be carried out only by those who have a good grasp of Marxism. The fact that the CPC Central Committee has a high Marxist level cannot replace the accomplishment by the cadres at various levels of Marxist theory, and only when the theoretical level of the whole party is raised can the correct implementation of the party line, principles, and policies be guaranteed. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It is necessary to guide people in studying." He criticized the fact that "some people often base their comments on superficial phenomena. This is because they have no proper foundation in theory and practice." (ibid., pp 336, 35) This criticism is quite fair and to the point.

The direct result of ensuring that the ranks of cadres become younger in average age is that large groups of young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to leading positions. Being in the prime of life and full of vigor, the political and professional quality of these young and middle-aged cadres is good on the whole. However, we cannot but see the essential facts like this: First, we must never forget the specified historical conditions under which young and middle-aged cadres grew up and the perennial disruption and influence caused by "leftist" guiding ideology on the education of cadres in Marxist theory. During the 10 years of internal disorder, the systematic education in Marxist theory was seriously weakened. Due to the trammels of dogmatism and personality cult, some Marxist viewpoints were repudiated as revisionist things, some socialist principles were regarded as capitalist and then opposed, and some "leftist" and right erroneous things were supported and worshipped as correct ones. This has not only defaced Marxism but also created theoretical confusion among cadres. Young and middle-aged cadres must study once again so that they can wage a struggle against the erroneous things which are allegedly Marxist but are actually non-Marxist. Second, the task lying ahead of us at present is to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method to carry out a series of reforms in all

fields of endeavor on the basis of effecting a great and historic change. For this purpose, it is necessary to be good at studying new things, summing up and spreading new experiences, and to promptly discover all erroneous tendencies that depart from the general objective of reform and any deviation from this objective should be corrected. However, all these were questions seldom touched on by the Marxists in the past, and therefore it is necessary to use Marxist basic principles to further study them. On the one hand, we must not allow ourselves to be trammelled by "leftist" ideology, to attempt nothing and accomplish nothing, and to neglect the new things which have been proved to be correct, and on the other hand, we must not forget to adhere to the Marxist basic principles which have been proved repeatedly by practice to be correct and allow the tendency of bourgeois liberalism to spread unchecked and even indulge in it in the course of blazing new trails. This requires us to study Marxist theory more intensively than we did in the past. Third, only when we combine theory with practice, grasp the essence of Marxism through a comprehensive study of it, and apply it to practice can we enhance our accomplishment of Marxist theory. This needs great concentration of painstaking efforts lasting for years. If our cadres fail to deepen their understanding of Marxist theory fundamentally, they will find it hard to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and to preserve the purity of communism and may even fall captive to bourgeois ideology, unconsciously propagating non-Marxist views. All this alerts us that in the course of ensuring that the ranks of cadres become younger in average age, we must be politically cautious in selecting and promoting cadres and definitely not let "people of three categories" and other people with bad characters sneak into leading bodies and moreover, must continuously strengthen education in Marxist theory and enhance the willingness of young and middle-aged cadres to uphold the four basic principles and the party line, principles, and policies.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has always attached importance to ensuring that the ranks of cadres become more knowledgeable and specialized. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, he has on many occasions urged that the situation in which cadres lack professional knowledge and competence should change. However, he approached this question from the point of view of the combination of being Red and expert rather than stressing exclusively being expert to the neglect of being Red. Knowledge does not necessarily mean consciousness and moreover, the world outlook based on Marxist theory cannot be replaced by any other knowledge. Some comrades set the study of cultural knowledge against that of Marxist theory. This is obviously wrong. If we grasp Marxist theory and acquire the Marxist world outlook, we can not only stimulate our enthusiasm for studying professional knowledge but can also use the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method as guidance to develop our theoretical reasoning capacity, give play to the role of theory in commanding knowledge, deepening knowledge, and opening up new fields of knowledge, and proceed to vigorously speed up our grasping of modern scientific, cultural, and professional knowledge. The universal tenets of Marxism have never replaced and definitely can never replace the various concrete departmental sciences and can never embrace the laws governing the special movements of all concrete things, but they have indeed brought to light the most fundamental method of knowing all things. Hence

they are of great help in our efforts to know nature and the various concrete laws governing social development. Therefore, the study of Marxism can not only ensure that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary but can also help expedite the process of cadres becoming more knowledgeable and specialized.

Over the last few years, Comrade Deng Xiaoping advocated studying Marxist philosophy and further giving priority to the method of thinking and work. This merits our close attention. The guidance of Marxist philosophy is needed not only in handling social and political questions but also in approaching scientific and technical matters. Due to their failure to have a thorough grasp of scientific methodology, some scientists of the past were prevented from making greater achievements in their research work. Famous physicist Sir Isaac Newton who formulated the three fundamental laws of mechanics was puzzled by the more macroscopic question of "what is the first motive force" because he failed to form a thorough materialist point of view, and he had to seek help from "the Bible" in his later years. Scientists armed with Marxist philosophy are like a tiger which has grown wings. When the famous Japanese physicist Professor Soichi Sakata who had made great contributions in the domain of the theories of the atomic nucleus and elementary particle reviewed the reasons for his successes, he said that the relevant teachings of Engels and Lenin on dialectical materialism "have indeed inspired and given me the courage to contend with the viewpoint that regards the elementary particle as the beginning of matter and to concentrate on using the viewpoint of the sequence of matter to study compound models." In the 1960's, it was under the guidance of the philosophical thinking that matter is boundlessly divisible that the Chinese scientists engaged in the study of the elementary particle overthrew the theory that the elementary particle is indivisible, which was prevalent then in physics circles and formulated the straton model, thus giving a better explanation to the then discovered elementary particle structure and the related questions and reaching the world advanced level in this respect.

In brief, studying Marxism is a kind of capital construction aimed at raising the quality of the ranks of cadres and a task of strategic importance. We must further understand fully the relationship between the "four transformations" of the ranks of cadres and the study of Marxism, grasp well the study of Marxist theory, and promote the realization of the "four transformations" of the ranks of cadres.

In order to meet the requirements of the "four transformations" of the ranks of cadres, the training and educating of cadres has become increasingly important. Aside from going in turn and by stages to the training courses offered in rotation by the cadre schools of various types under unified planning as needed by their work, cadres at various levels should raise standards by relying on studying Marxist theory independently at ordinary times while doing their own work. Whether they take outside-the-job or on-the-job training courses, cadres at various levels should strive to study in many ways, of which the study of Marxism is indispensable. The report by the central party school on teaching reform, which was approved by the CPC Central Committee, explicitly stipulates that while studying some

modern scientific, cultural, and professional knowledge, party and government leading cadres must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the main course. There is no doubt that professional cadre schools and professional cadres of various types should devote most of their time and energy to studying their own professional knowledge and competence but should not slacken their efforts to study Marxist theory.

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SONG OF XUPU GIRLS SCHOOL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 84 inside back cover

[Music and lyrics by Xiang Jingyu [0686 6226 0056]]

[Text] Our school stands by the side of the water beneath the slope of Lu Shan and the environment is beautiful.

We sisters, elder and younger, love each other in our study and we spare no effort to make progress.

Now, men and women are equal and the process of natural selection is startling.

Let us prepare ourselves to promote the development of all women.

Editor's note: This year's 1 May is the 56th anniversary of the glorious death of martyr Xiang Jingyu.

Comrade Xiang Jingyu was one of the early leaders of the CPC as well as a pioneer of the women's liberation movement in China. She was born into the family of a businessman in Xupu County of Hunan Province on 4 September 1895. In 1918, she joined the Xinmin Association, founded by Comrades Mao Zedong and Cai Heshen. She went to France in 1919, where she engaged in part-time study and part-time work. She returned to China in 1922. She attended the 2d, 3d, and 5th CPC National Congresses. She was the first woman alternate member of the CPC Central Committee, the first woman minister, and the first secretary of the women's committee. She died a heroine's death in Wuhan on 1 May 1928 at the age of 33.

Xiang Jingyu returned to her native place in 1916 at the age of 21 and founded Xupu Girls School. As the schoolmistress, she opened the doors of the school to laboring people in her efforts to train talents in the interest of the country. The above school song, with lyrics written by Comrade Xiang Jingyu and other teachers, is carried by this magazine to mark the anniversary of her death.

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## RECOMMENDING A BOOK PUBLICIZING THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 84 outside back cover

[ "Book review" by Wu Keming [0702 0344 2494] ]

[Text] The book "Analyzing the Superiority of Socialism" compiled by Comrade Zhang Yitong [1728 0001 0681] (published by Tianjin People's Publishing House) has expounded in a more systematic way the superiority of the socialist system. This book has been welcomed by the broad masses of people and particularly young people, since it came off the press.

A striking feature of this book is that it is relatively strong realistically and in orientation. The writer has always been very much concerned with the situation of young people. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and by resorting to vivid historical facts both in China and other countries, he has scientifically analyzed and answered a number of the questions that have commonly been encountered and have to be urgently resolved. These questions include: What are the features of socialism; where is the superiority of the socialist system; why socialism will naturally replace capitalism; why only socialism can save China; since imperialism is dying and capitalism is decadent, why is it that the economy and technology of modern capitalism are still constantly developing; and how to treat the setbacks and mistakes that have emerged in the process of the building of socialism in China. For example, in explaining how to correctly understand the relations between lower living standards and the superiority of social system, the writer has meticulously analyzed the effect of the economic system on the people's life and the relations between production levels and the people's living standard. He says in the book: "The two factors of production level and economic system have their effect on the situations of people's life. These two factors are different and yet they are related to each other. Therefore we cannot categorically say that a low living standard represents a bad system; that is to say, it must be concretely analyzed whether the low living standard is caused by productive forces or the system." The writer has scientifically compared and analyzed the situations in the United States, Japan, and China. He has pointed out that the living standard of the people in China is lower than that of people in the United States and Japan; but this difference in no way means that the social system of China is not good, it only means that a lower living standard in China has been caused by the lower production level that is left over from history.

On the contrary, it is precisely because China has formed the socialist system that the social productive forces of the country have been developing rapidly and vigorously to constantly improve the living standard of the Chinese people.

This book has been written on the basis of the principle of seeking truth from facts and it expounds questions from the point of historical materialism and dialectics and presents the facts through reasoning. The writer has not avoided questions, nor has he taken a circuitous route. He has directly answered questions. This book has made readers feel that it is simple and straightforward. For example, this book has affirmed the achievements made by China in socialist economic construction over the past three decades and more, but at the same time it has also directly pointed out the mistakes made in our work. In short, this book has expounded the superiority of the socialist system in China and at the same time it has also pointed out the necessity to constantly strive to perfect this new system.

Although explanations in certain chapters and sections of this book could still be improved, it is still a good book.

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